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[p. 56]

Sketch-map to show distribution of Lou tribal sections (arrows point from area of villages to dry season camps).

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Sketch-map to show distribution of the Eastern Jikany tribal sections (arrows point from area of villages to dry season camps) (after Mr. C. L. Armstrong).

[p. 58]

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send up new shoots a few days after being fired—probably those that have roots long enough to tap water held up in the clay beds and a clump formation that protects the core of the plants from the flames. If it were not for this habit cattle could not survive, at any rate inland, during a dry year. When the grasses have been fired cattle can wander as they please, being no longer frustrated by surface water and rank growth, and satisfy their appetites on the new shoots. As water becomes scarcer and grazing poorer Nuer fall back on permanent water where they make large camps and the cattle can graze on marsh plants that abound in numberless depressions and make good milk. In May, when the new rains set in, they are able to return to their villages. The few cattle Nuer possess, the vast spaces they can exploit, and their nomadic existence ensure that there is nowhere serious overgrazing.

Variation of water-supplies and vegetation thus forces Nuer to move and determines the direction of their movements. In a later section we shall see that fishing is another important consideration in these movements. In late November or early December the youths and some of the girls take the cattle from the villages to camps, generally some miles away, leaving the older people to harvest the second millet crop and repair huts and byres. Usually a few lactating cows are left behind to provide milk for the small children. These early camps (*wec ɟiom*) are made near pools in a place where the grasses have previously been fired. In Lou country they are often made in thornwood forest, where *Balanites aegyptiaca* is abundant, but in many parts of Nuerland, especially to the west of the Nile, they are formed on stream banks for fishing. When the second harvest has been reaped the cattle are brought back to the villages to eat the millet stalks, if they are near enough. As pools dry up, pasturage is exhausted, or fishing becomes poor, the youths make new camps, where they are joined by the married people, and they may move camp several times before settling in their final camping grounds (*wec mai*) at the side of lakes or rivers in January and February. The early camps are small, being manned by a few kinsmen, but they tend to get larger as the season advances and water becomes scarcer, and the final camps may contain several hundred persons.

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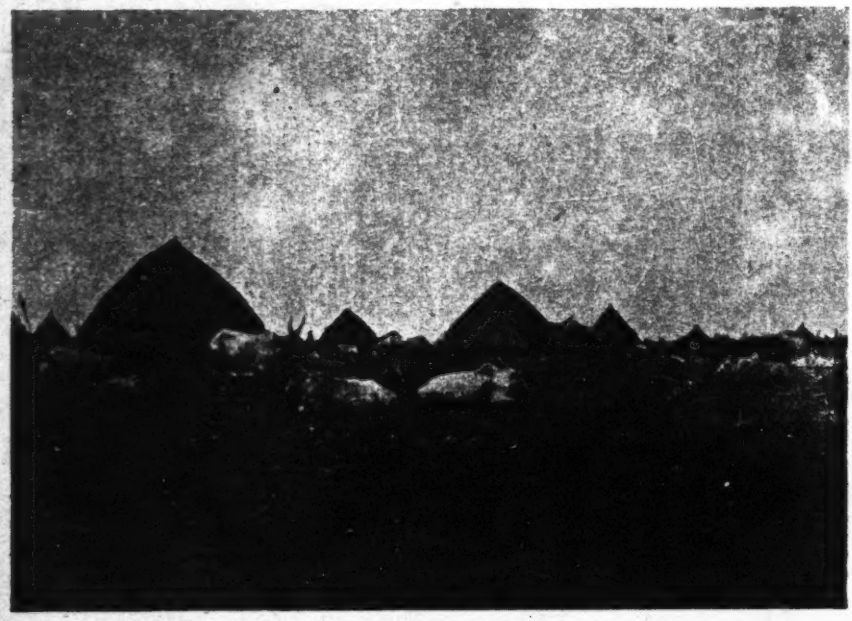

a. Homesteads on mound (Lou)

b. Homesteads on mound (Lou) [Face p. 62]

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further details, which, indeed, I could not furnish, about the disposition of the Western Nuer in the dry season, it may be said that they travel very much less than most of the Eastern Nuer tribes, especially the Lou.

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Different villages and sections tend to move about the same time and to visit the same pools each year, though time and place and, to some extent, degree of concentration vary according to climatic conditions. Usually, however, the main dry season camps are formed yearly at the same spots. When the rains commence in May the older people return to the villages to prepare the ground for sowing and they are joined there in June by the youths and girls, who bring the cattle with them. When the younger people return the whole camp is broken up on the same day, and the cattle are driven to their village with as few halts as possible. The move from villages to camps, on the contrary, is less concerted and abrupt. The younger members of two or three families form a small camp, after the firing of the grasses in November, when and where they please. Several days later they may be joined by other people from the same village, or these may form a separate camp. There is still water and some grazing on the village sites and there is still work to be accomplished in gardens and homesteads. Thus, while camps change into villages overnight, villages change into camps more slowly. By the height of the drought every one is in camp and the villages are silent and deserted.

The year thus consists of a period in villages and a period in camps, and the camp period is divided into the early part of the dry season when the younger people move from small camp to small camp and the latter part of the dry season when every one is concentrated in large camps round permanent water which they do not leave till they return to their villages.

III

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Nuer are forced into villages for protection against floods and mosquitoes and to engage in horticulture, and are forced out of villages into camps by drought and barrenness of vegetation and to engage in fishing. I describe these villages and camps very shortly.

Some tribes are better off for sites than others. The Lou

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●361 and the Eastern Jikany are especially fortunate in this respect, but in Western Nuerland, though there are many suitable ridges, the country is more inundated and there are few elevated stretches of any size, except, as far as my observations go, among sections of the Leek and Dok tribes, which are better off than those tribes which lie in between.

What is needed for a village site is not only room for building but also for grazing and cultivations. Many villages are perched on mounds (Plates VII and XVI), the surfaces of which are accumulations of debris, at the edge of those rivers that have banks in flood, and the cattle graze on the slopes or in near-by thornwood forest, where also gardens are cultivated. More usually homesteads are strung out along sandy ridges (Plate VIII), a mile or two in length and a few hundred yards in breadth, sites which allow greater spacial division between them, and the gardens run at their backs and the grazing-grounds to their fronts. In some parts of Nuerland, especially in the favoured tribes I have mentioned, stretches of higher ground, sometimes several miles in extent, enable the people to build anywhere, except near the narrow depressions that thread them, and little groups of homesteads are dotted here and there, surrounded, and separated, by their gardens and grazing grounds. Nuer prefer to dwell in this greater privacy and show no inclination for true village life.

By making their villages on elevated ground Nuer keep themselves and their cattle above the flood that lies everywhere on the vast plain beneath and gain some protection from the swarms of mosquitoes which breed in the standing water. In [312] Western Nuerland I have seen low mud dykes at the foot of occupied ridges to keep back the water in years of heavy 361 flood. As they build always on the highest spots the torrential 132 rains that fall daily after June run off the slope so that the hard floors of kraals soon dry. How terrific are these rains may be judged from Plate XIV, taken from under the awning of my tent during a moderate shower in August, and how considerably they flood all but village sites may be seen in Plate XII, which shows a millet garden, on a higher level than the plain, in October. On a tour of Western Nuerland in October of 1936, a fairly dry year, we walked almost continuously in several

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inches of water for seventeen days, apart from having to cross numerous deep depressions. In some parts of Lou and Eastern Jikany, particularly in Gaajak, people build in open thornwood forest, but generally Nuer prefer to make their villages in open country, even where there is forest near-by, because their cattle are better protected from wild beasts, insect pests, and damp, and also, apparently, because millet does not do so well in wooded country. Building in the open seems also to give freedom from termites.

A Nuer homestead consists of a cattle byre and huts. Their byres are of size and workmanship that have evoked the admiration of all travellers. Their form, and the appearance of huts, may be seen in several plates, and their mode of construction is excellently portrayed in Mr. Corfield's photograph (Plate XVIII). It is only necessary to explain that the roofs are supported by trunks of trees erected inside the barns. Both byres and huts are of wattle and daub, though in Western Nuerland, where there is less forest, bundles of millet stalks are employed as rafters. Building and repairs generally take place early in the dry season when there is plenty of straw for thatching and enough millet to provide beer for those who assist in the work. During the rains fences are erected from the byres along two sides of the kraal and around huts to control the movements of cattle and to prevent them messing the homesteads and damaging the crops (Plate XVII). Grazing and the use of grass, trees, &c., is the common right of all members of a village community.

Families often change their place of residence from one part of a village to another and from village to village, and, in the case of small villages, if there have been many deaths, the cattle are poorly, there have been fights within the village, or pastures and cultivations are exhausted, the whole village community may move to a new site. After about ten years both pastures and gardens show evident signs of exhaustion on the smaller ridges, and huts and byres need rebuilding after some five years.

In dry-season camps men sleep in windscreens and women in beehive-huts, or both sexes in beehive-huts. These flimsy shelters are erected a few yards from water, generally in a semi-circle or in lines with their backs to the prevailing wind, and

226 therefore, are an indispensable article of food, and the pursuit of them influences seasonal movements.

226 The rivers teem with fish of many edible species which greatly
262 supplement the diet of the Nuer in the dry season and enable them to survive years in which the crops fail or there are epidemics among the herds. In choosing camp sites opportunities
[361] for fishing are considered no less than water and pasturage. Nevertheless, Nuer do not regard themselves as a water-people, and despise people like the Shilluk who, they say, live mainly by fishing and hunting hippopotami. In spite of this suggestion of superiority Nuer enjoy fishing and the feeling of well-being a full fish diet gives them. One may judge how great their catch must be at the height of the dry season from the fact that one can see along the Baro and Sobat cattleless fishing camps (*kal*) in which, except for a little grain, goat's milk, and an occasional wild beast, people live on fish alone for several weeks. These are poor people who either have no cattle or have one or two cows which they have placed in the care of richer relatives, for no Nuer would live without his cattle if he could help it, and they are despised as persons of Anuak or Balak Dinka descent. Some Nuer tribes fish more than others, according to their opportunities. Thus Lou country has poor fishing compared with Eastern Jikany which has a network of waterways. Tribes
[421] and tribal sections jealously guard their fishing rights, and people who want to fish extensively in a pool must first obtain permission from its owners if they do not want to provoke fighting.

226 It is the seasonal flooding, due to the rise and fall of the rivers
221 and the flatness of the country, that allows Nuer to kill fish in such large numbers, for they are carried out of the rivers, where they are little accessible to the simple methods of Nuer fishing, into streams and lagoons where they are more vulnerable. The best months are November and December, when the rivers begin to fall and to drain streams and lagoons, which can be dammed at suitable points and the fish speared in their efforts to break downstream. Fishing from dams is conducted mainly at night, fires being lighted behind the fishers, who fix their attention on a line of withies placed upstream from the dam and hurl their spears at whatever point of the line fish reveal

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preliminary, classification of Nuer territorial groups of a political kind. We have classified Nuer socio-temporal categories. We now classify their socio-spatial categories.

Were a man to fly over Nuerland he would see, as on Plate XVI, taken by the Royal Air Force in the dry season, white patches with what look like tiny fungoid growths on them. These are village sites with huts and byres. He would see that between such patches are stretches of brown and black, the brown being open grassland and the black being depressions which are swampy in the rains; and that the white patches are wider and more frequent in some parts than in others. We find Nuer give to these distributions certain values which compose their political structure.

It would be possible to measure the exact distance between hut and hut, village and village, tribal area and tribal area, and so forth, and the space covered by each. This would give us a statement of spatial measurements in bare physical terms. By itself it would have very limited significance. Oecological space is more than mere physical distance, though it is affected by it, for it is reckoned also by the character of the country intervening between local groups and its relation to the biological requirements of their members. A broad river divides two Nuer tribes more sharply than many miles of unoccupied bush. A distance which appears small in the dry season has a different appearance when the area it covers is flooded in the rains. A village community which has permanent water near at hand is in a very different position to one which has to travel in the dry season to obtain water, pasturage, and fishing. A tsetse belt creates an impassable barrier, giving wide oecological distance between the peoples it separates (p. 133), and presence or absence of cattle among neighbours of the Nuer likewise determines the oecological distance between them and the Nuer (pp. 132–3). Oecological distance, in this sense, is a relation between communities defined in terms of density and distribution, and with reference to water, vegetation, animal and insect life, and so on.

Structural distance is of a very different order, though it is always influenced and, in its political dimension, to a large extent determined by oecological conditions. By structural

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of the people it may be doubted whether it could support a much larger population than it does. This is particularly the case to the west of the Nile and it is likely, as Nuer themselves suggest, that their expansion eastwards was due to over-population. It is possible for there to be great local concentration in spite of low density for tribal areas, for the estimates of square mileage include vast stretches of land devoid of villages and camps, which is grazed over in the drought or merely traversed in seasonal movements. The degree of actual concentration, in this sense, varies from tribe to tribe and from tribal section to tribal section and from season to season.

I cannot figure such distributions more accurately than the sketch-maps on pp. 56, 58, and 60, and I can only indicate them verbally in the most general terms. As we have seen, the size of a village depends on the space available for building, grazing, and horticulture, and its homesteads are crowded or strung out accordingly, forming in most villages small clusters of huts and byres which we call hamlets, each being separated from its neighbours by gardens and unoccupied land on which calves, sheep, and goats graze. The population of a village—we can make no precise statement—may be anything from fifty to several hundred souls and may cover from a few hundred yards to several miles. A village is usually well demarcated by the contiguity of its residences and the stretches of bush, forest, and swamp which separate it from its neighbours. In my small experience one may, in most parts of Nuerland, traverse five to twenty miles from village to village. This is certainly the case in Western Nuerland. On the other hand, where the nature of the ground allows, villages may be much closer together and follow one another at short intervals over wide areas. Thus the greater part of the Lou are concentrated within thirty miles of Muot tot, the greater part of the Dok within ten miles of Ler. while the Lak, Thiang, and part of the Gaawar run fairly continuously along a wide ridge between the Nile and the Zeraf. Villages are always joined to their neighbours by paths created and maintained by their social interrelations. In every part of Nuerland there are also large areas, inundated in the rains, with no, or very few, villages. Those parts of the tribal areas left blank or shaded to show dry-season occupation in the sketch-

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361 maps are mainly, and often entirely, without village sites, and in Western Nuerland the whole area between the Nile and the Bahr el Ghazal is very sparsely dotted with small villages; and the same is probably true of the country to the north of the Bahr el Ghazal.

I am compelled to describe the distribution of dry season camps as vaguely as the distribution of villages. Early camps may be found almost anywhere and often comprise only a few households; but the location of larger camps, formed later in the season, can be known in advance because there are only a few places which provide adequate water. Their size depends largely on the amount of water and grazing and their population varies from about a hundred to over a thousand souls. These concentrations are never tribal but comprise larger or smaller tribal sections. Round a lake a camp may be distributed in several sections with a few hundred yards between each; or one may then speak of contiguous camps. In any camp a few wind-screens are generally adjacent to, almost touching, one another, and such a group may often at a glance be seen to be a distinct unit with its own section of the common kraal. Along the left bank of the Sobat and the right bank of the Baro one may observe from a steamer camps almost anywhere, separated from one another by only a few miles; but up streams, like the Nyanding and Filus, in which only isolated pools of water remain, several miles separate camps. Some large camps in the interior of Lou country are separated by more than twenty miles of bush.

131 Great rivers flow through Nuerland and it is often these
619 natural boundaries which indicate the lines of political cleavage. The Sobat separates the Gaajok tribe from the Lou tribe; the Pibor separates the Lou tribe from the Anuak people; the Zeraf separates the Thiang and Lak from the Dinka; the Ghazal separates the Karlual primary section of the Leek tribe from its other two primary sections; and so forth. Marshes and areas inundated in the rains likewise separate political groups. The Macar swamps divide the Eastern Gaajak from the Gaajok and Gaagwang; water-covered stretches divide, in the rains, the Rengyan from the Wot, Bor, &c.; and so on.

000 This account of distribution is unavoidably vague, but the main conditions and their significance can easily be summed up.

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(1) Physical conditions which are responsible for scarcity of food and a simple technology also cause low density and sparse distribution of settled areas. Lack of political cohesion and development may be related to the density and distribution of the Nuer and, furthermore, in general their structural simplicity may be due to the same conditions. (2) The size of elevated stretches of land and the distances between them permit in some parts of Nuerland larger and closer concentration than in others. In the larger tribes a large population is often compelled by the nature of the country to build their homes within a short radius. (3) Where there is relatively great density of population in the rains there tends also to be greater need in the drought for early and far movement to new pastures. This need compels recognition of a common tribal value over large areas and enables us to understand better how it is that in spite of a necessary lack of political cohesion within the tribes they often have so large a population and occupy so large a territory.

V

We have noted that structural distance is the distance between groups of persons in social structure and may be of different kinds. Those which concern us in our present account are political distance, lineage distance, and age-set distance. The political distance between villages of a tertiary tribal section is less than the distance between tertiary segments of a secondary tribal section, and that is less than the distance between secondary segments of a primary tribal section, and so forth. This forms the subject of Chapter IV. The lineage distance between segments of a minor lineage is less than the distance between minor segments of a major lineage, and that is less than the distance between major segments of a maximal lineage, and so forth. This forms the subject of Chapter V. The age-set distance between segments of an age-set is less than the distance between successive age-sets and that is less than the distance between age-sets which are not successive. This forms the subject of Chapter VI. As we wish to develop our argument and therefore to avoid analysis which does not allow the reader to refer back to statements

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extension according to the size of the tribe, are grouped into small tribal sections and these into larger ones. In the larger tribes it is convenient to distinguish between primary, secondary, and tertiary tribal sections. These sections, of whatever size, are, like a village, spoken of as *'cieng'*. Since the next chapter is devoted to these tribal segments no more is said about them here.

VI

The main Nuer tribes are shown on p. 8. The name 'Jagei' inserted to the west of the Nile includes a number of small tribes—Lang, Bor, Rengyan, and Wot. There are also some small tribes—if they are rightly regarded as tribes, for little research was done in the area—in the vicinity of the Dok Nuer: Beegh, Jaalogh, (Gaan)Kwac, and Rol. A crude census, compiled from various Government sources, gives, in round figures, the more recent estimates for the larger tribes as follows:

Sobat Nuer: Gaajak, 42,000; Gaagwang, 7,000; Gaajok, 42,000; Lou, 33,000. Zeraf Nuer: Lak, 24,000; Thiang, 9,000; Gaawar, 20,000. Western Nuer: Bul, 17,000; Leek, 11,000; the three Western Jikany tribes, 11,000; the various Jagei tribes, 10,000; Dok, 12,000; Nuong, 9,000. These figures are probably more accurate for the Eastern than for the Western Nuer. Estimates show wide discrepancies and there has been much guesswork. On the basis of those recorded, the Sobat Nuer are 91,000, the Zeraf Nuer 53,000, and the Western Nuer 70,000, making a total of 214,000 for the whole of Nuerland. The population of only a few tribal segments is known. Among the Lou the Gun primary section number about 22,000 and the Mor primary section about 12,000; among the Gaawar the Radh primary section number about 10,000 and the Bar primary section about 10,000; and among the Lak tribe the Kwacbur primary section number about 12,000 and the Jenyang primary section number about 12,000.

It will be remarked that the tribes of Western Nuerland are generally smaller than those on the Zeraf, and those on the Zeraf smaller than those on the Sobat. Tribes tend to be larger the farther eastwards one proceeds. Their territories also tend to be more extensive. It may be suggested that the larger population of the Eastern Nuer tribes is due to the integrating effects of conquest and settlement and to the absorption of large numbers of Dinka which resulted therefrom, but we do not think that such explanations

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account for their maintaining a semblance of tribal unity over such large areas in the absence of any central government. It is evident that the size of tribal populations is directly related to the amount of high land available for wet season occupation, and also to its disposition, for tribes like the Lou and Eastern Gaajok and Gaajak can have a concentration of homesteads and villages on wide stretches of elevated land, which is not possible for the smaller tribes of Western Nuerland, whose only building sites are small and sparsely distributed ridges. But we hold that this fact in itself would not determine the lines of political cleavage, which can only be understood by taking into consideration also the relation between village sites and dry season water-supplies, pasturage, and fishing. We have noted earlier how tribal sections move from their villages to dry season pastures, each having spatial distinction in the rains which is maintained in the drought, but whereas in Western Nuerland there is always plenty of water, grazing, and fishing, generally not far from the villages, and it is possible for wet season village communities, isolated by inundated tracts in the rains, to maintain their isolation and independence in dry season camps, in the larger tribes of Eastern Nuerland, such as the Lou, drier conditions compel greater concentration and wider seasonal movements, with the result that village communities not only have a greater spatial, and we may say also moral, density in the drought than in the rains, but have to mix with one another and share water and pastures and fishing. Distinct villages are found side by side around a pool. Moreover, people of one section have to cross the territories of other sections to reach their camps, which may be situated near the villages of yet another section. Families and joint families often camp with kinsmen and affines who belong to other villages than their own, and it is a common practice to keep cattle in two or more parts of the country to avoid total loss from rinderpest, which is a dry season pestilence. It is understandable, therefore, that local communities which, though they are isolated in the rains, are forced in the drought into relations that necessitate some sense of community and the admission of certain common interests and obligations, should be contained in a common tribal structure. The severer the dry season conditions the greater the need for some measure of contact and therefore of forbearance and recognition of interdependence. The Zeraf tribes move less than the Sobat tribes and more than the Western Nuer tribes, the Gaawar moving more than the Thiang and Lak. We may again point out that on the whole where there is plenty of elevated country which permits concentration in the rains there is likewise the greater need for large concentrations in the dry

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season, since water, fishing, and pasture are found away from these elevated areas.

These facts seem to explain to some extent the political preponderance of pastoral peoples in East Africa. There may be wide dispersal of communities and low density of population, but there is seasonal contraction and wide interdependence. The variation in their circuits of transhumance also helps us to understand the variation in the size of Nuer tribes. It may be noted that, though the size and cohesion of tribes vary in different parts of Nuerland, nowhere do environmental conditions permit complete autonomy and exclusiveness of small village groups, such as we find among the Anuak, or such high density of population and such developed political institutions such as we find among the Shilluk.

Thus, on the one hand, environmental conditions and pastoral pursuits cause modes of distribution and concentration that provide the lines of political cleavage and are antagonistic to political cohesion and development; but, on the other hand, they necessitate extensive tribal areas within which there is a sense of community and a preparedness to co-operate.

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Each tribe has a name which refers alike to its members and to their country (*rol*), e.g. Leek, Gaawar, Lou, Lak, &c. (see map on p. 8). Each has its particular territory and owns and defends its own building sites, grazing, water-supplies, and fishing-pools. Not only do large rivers or wide stretches of uninhabited country generally divide adjacent sections of contiguous tribes, but these sections tend to move in different directions in the drought. Conditions are doubtless changing in this respect, but we may cite as examples how the Gaawar tribe tend to move eastwards towards the Zeraf and not to come into contact with the Gun primary section of the Lou tribe, who cluster around their inland lakes or move to the Sobat and Pibor; how the Mor tribal section of the Lou move to the Nyanding and Upper Pibor in the direction of the Gaajok, who do not coalesce with them but move to the upper reaches of the Sobat and the lower reaches of the Pibor; and how the Western Jikany move towards the marshes of the Nile, while the Leek move northwest to the junction of the Bahr el Ghazal with its streams and lagoons.

Tribesmen have a common sentiment towards their country and hence towards their fellow tribesmen. This sentiment is evident in the pride with which they speak of their tribe as the

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PLATE XIX

361

a. Cattle camp (Leek)

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b. Typical swampy depression in November (Western Jikany)

[Face p. 176]

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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in a war line (*dep*) singing their special war chant, and they remain together during the dancing lest some incident should lead to fighting, for it sometimes happens that when the dancing parties of different villages duel their play passes into fighting. Villagers also have close economic relations and common economic interests which make a village a corporation owning its cultivations, water-supplies, fishing-pools, and grazing grounds; the ownership being spoken about in terms of the lineage with which the village is socially identified. There is, especially in the smaller villages, much co-operation in labour and much sharing of food. At the beginning of the drought the villagers may scatter to camp round different pools in the bush and some families, and even large aggregates of relatives, may spend the dry season with kinsmen of different villages, but the scattering is temporary. As a rule, families which live in the same village in the rains share the same cattle camp (*wec*) at the height of the drought.

Nevertheless, in spite of their many contacts with one another and of their concerted action in their relations with other villages, there may be rivalries between members of different parts of a single village. This is more noticeable in the larger villages, where groups of kin occupy distinct sections of the village site and have a feeling of exclusiveness towards each other. '*Wa pekda*', 'I go to my end (of the village)', often indicates, besides direction, a sectional loyalty.

Nuer villages, called after the names of their sites, vary in size and form, both of which depend largely on local conditions. Some are small communities of not more than a few families living on riverside mounds, accumulations of debris which have been dwelling places for long periods. They may be regarded as colonies attached to larger communities. Larger villages, of some hundreds of souls, are generally strung out along the backs of ridges, but where there is a wide stretch of high ground a village may be distributed in all directions over several miles of country.

Indeed, it is a characteristic of all Nuer villages, to which Jules Poncet alludes,* that they are spread out as freely as the nature of the ground permits in little groups of habitations, each separated generally from its neighbours by some fifty to several hundred paces. A group of this kind often consists of a single homestead, a cattle byre with its attendant hut or huts, the dwelling of a family.

* Jules Poncet, *Le Fleuve Blanc*, 1863–4, p. 40.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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361 The Nuer speak of a man's homestead as his *gol*, the primary meaning of which word is the heap of smouldering cattle-dung in the centre of a byre and the hearth around it. In its narrowest social use the word means family, the occupants of the homestead, and it may also therefore have the further sense of household, since there may be other persons living there than members of the owner's family who count nevertheless, as we would say, as members of the family. Frequently the byres and huts of two or three families, the heads of which are commonly brothers or a man and his married sons, are grouped around a common kraal so that we may then speak of a composite homestead; or several homesteads, owned generally by close kin, are adjacent to one another and form distinct clusters which we may call hamlets. Nuer speak of a composite homestead as the *gol* of so-and-so, naming its senior member, although they also refer to each of its component homesteads as the *gol* of its particular owner. They may use the same word to describe what I have called a hamlet, though a cluster of this kind with the land around it is also designated by the word *dhor*, combined with the name either of its senior member, as *dhor* Nyang, the hamlet of Nyang, or of some natural feature, as *dhor ngop*, the hamlet of the wild fig-tree. In its widest connotation *gol* may have the sense of 'lineage', when a lineage is thought of as a residential group. The word *cieng*, which has the general sense of 'home', may be employed to describe a residential group of any size, from single homestead to large tribal division. It is usually coupled with the name of a lineage when it refers to local groups of any size.

When Nuer leave their villages in the dry season they collect, often after temporary dispersal, in large waterside camps. There is then greater solidarity, both spatial and moral, than in the rains. The community of a camp is crowded together in grass windscreens and little grass beehive huts, and the herds which in the rains are tethered in separate kraals are now tethered in the same [233] kraal or in adjacent kraals. In the rains, when water is abundant and pasturage near at hand, the cattle are either not herded at all or each family, or a group of adjacent families, herds its own; but in the dry season, when conditions are different, the cattle of a camp are watered and pastured together and the different families 221 take it in turn to provide herdsmen. Activities performed of necessity or by preference in parties—hunting, fishing, and collecting—

2;Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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22/ are dry-season activities. Also, milking, cleaning kraals, making up fires, cooking, pounding grain, and other chores which are performed separately and at different times by each household in the villages tend to be performed in unison in the camps. The greater density of the community and the rigours of the season
036/ impose a common regimen. Another feature of cattle camps which has some social importance is their composition. Neighbouring village communities which in the rains occupy different sites, often divided by wide swamps, frequently make common camp or they camp so near to each other that there are more intimate relations between their members in the dry season. The radius of effective kinship is greater in the dry season than in the wet.

Although there is this greater cohesion in camps, the families and joint families and larger clusters of kin whose social distinction is evident in the distribution of homesteads in the villages maintain their identity in the distribution of camp windscreens and huts. Each family has its own windscreen, corresponding to its byre in the village, and in the centre of it is the *gol*, its hearth of ashes. Attached to the windscreen are the beehive huts of the womenfolk, just as in the villages their wattle-and-daub huts are attached to the byre. The windscreens of those whose homesteads adjoin in the villages are generally adjacent to, almost touching, one another in the camps and form clearly demarcated rows in the circle of camp dwellings. When a large village is clearly segmented, the separation observable in the distribution of its homesteads can also be noted in the dispersal of smaller camps within the general camping area. These social alinements are most evident in the early part of the dry season, before the large concentrations of the main season have been formed, for then small groups of kin often make independent camps around isolated pools at some, sometimes a considerable, distance from each other.

II

602 All the members of such a village or camp as I have briefly
613 described are kin. Before giving examples in illustration of this
614 statement I must say again what I have already said in *The Nuer* about the difference between lineage relations and kin relations because it is a very important difference. In speaking of lineages I refer to unilateral groups of kin—among the Nuer groups of

[illegible] cat. 116, pp. 2 ff. .. [illegible]

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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000 inter-relations of collateral lineages because they do not here directly concern us.

III

621 Having made what preliminary explanations seemed to be
602 necessary, I record some examples of the network of kinship ties in typical Nuer villages and camps.

As I have said earlier, members of a village are all *mar*, kin, to one another: any villager can trace kinship to every other person in his village, either by a direct kinship tie or through a third person who is in different ways related both to himself and the other person. Furthermore, he can establish kinship of some kind —real, by analogy, mythological, or assumed—with everybody he comes into contact with during his lifetime and throughout the length and breadth of Nuerland; and this is necessary if he has frequent dealings with them, for all social obligation of a personal kind is defined in terms of kinship. But within his local community the links are definite and well known. All members of a village or cattle camp can be placed on a single genealogical chart showing relationship by blood, adoption, and marriage.

[101] The village of Konye is on a site on the left bank of the Pibor
361 and a few miles to the south of Akobo Post. It is on the periphery of Nuerland, on their present-day frontier with the Anuak, and has only recently been used by Nuer, of the Lou tribe, as a permanent wet-season settlement, though they have probably long camped on the site in seasons of severe drought. Nevertheless, the social cluster found in occupation of it in May 1935 is typical of small communities in every part of Nuerland. In that year the village consisted of eleven homesteads perched on a high mound some eighty paces in diameter with four attached homesteads lying between four hundred and six hundred paces to the south of the mound. On a rough estimate the population of the village and
124 attached homesteads was eighty to a hundred souls. I spent only a few days in the village and restricted my inquiries there to an effort to discover its genealogical pattern by ascertaining the kinship ties between the men who owned the fifteen cattle byres, that is to say, between the fifteen heads of families of the settlement. This might seem a simple task, but in Nuerland, where people do not co-operate in an inquiry of this kind, it is by no means so, and

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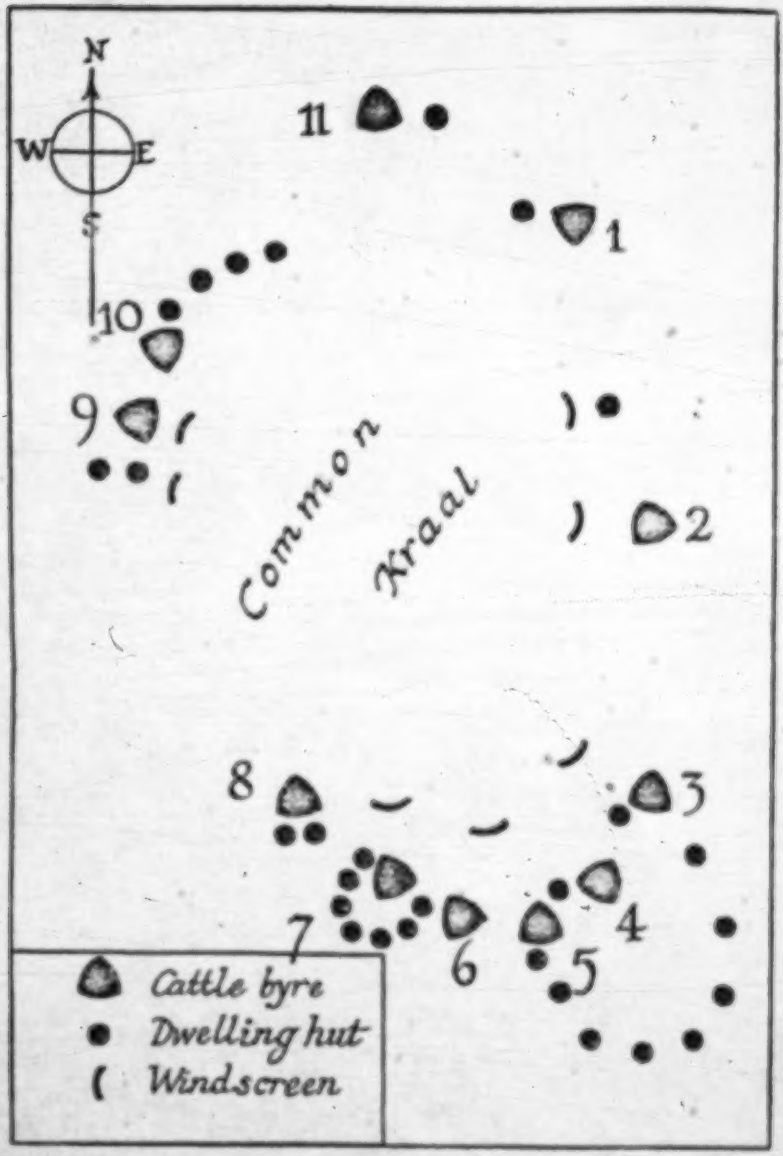

Sketch-map of Konye Village

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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Sketch-map of Nyueny Village

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2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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is illustrated at Nyueny by the daughters of Jany. The widows may take lovers in the village, or they may take them from a different village and their lovers come to live with them. This custom is another feature of interest, for some ties between members of a village may be through widow-concubines, or even through unmarried concubines. Any such ties are *mar*, kinship.

Allowing for the fact I have mentioned, that when people live together as members of the same small local community female links are often given equivalence to male links in a genealogy, a cluster of kin such as that of Nyueny can be presented as descended from a common ancestor. It might be described as a cognatic lineage, but in speaking of the Nuer I think it wise to restrict the term 'lineage' to a group of agnates within a system of such groups and to speak of a cluster like that of Nyueny as being a lineage to which are attached, on account of common residence, other lines of kin through females. For if an attached family or extended family of this kind were to leave the common residence the link which binds them to the lineage would cease to be significant for them and would lose its importance in favour of some new link more appropriate to their new attachment, whatever that might be, in their new village. Within a cluster of this kind relations between persons are regulated by the values of the kinship system. Seen as a unit from the outside, and in its corporate relations with other village communities, lineage values are dominant.

I now examine the kinship texture of a cattle camp at which I resided for close on three months in 1931. Yakwac is a small mound on the left bank of the Sobat. Like Nyueny, it is on the periphery of Nuerland where the Lou tribe faces the small Balak Dinka people who at one time occupied both banks of the river. I should explain that it was necessity rather than choice which led me to spend a large part of my time among the Lou Nuer at peripheral points. As I had no land transport and the Lou could not be induced to act as porters I had to rely on transport by canoe, and the larger rivers are in many places the tribal frontiers.

Yakwac village consists—I speak of 1931—of only three byres and a few attached huts. The chief man of the village is Cam-Carau, who owns one of the byres, the other two being owned by Bithou, his brother, and Kirkir, a kinsman of his mother. The real 'bull' of the village is, however, Cam's mother, Nyagen, and the

[cf. cat. 116, p. (16) -- Analyst]

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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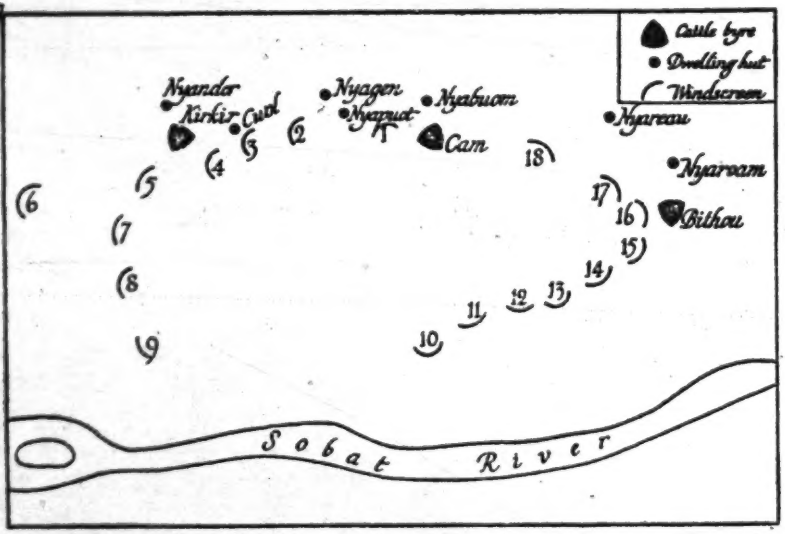
621 village is often spoken of as *cieng* Nyagen. She has what amounts
602 to the honorary status of a man, not only on account of her age and kinship status, but also, and principally, because she is a Lou
[565] aristocrat and it is through her that Cam and his family link themselves on to the dominant lineage of the area in which they live, for Cam is a Jikany tribesman and, although an aristocrat in his own tribal territory, a stranger in the Lou country. He married his first wife to the name of his maternal uncle, Dar, with Dar's

[361]



Sketch-map of Yakwac Cattle Camp

cattle, so that his eldest son and the other children born of this wife count as Dar's children and not as his own; and as Dar and Cam are of different clans and tribes, the distinction between pater and genitor is emphasized. His eldest son, Wia, belongs to the dominant clan of the Lou territory and he does not.

In many years Cam's maternal kinsmen, the minor lineage known as *cieng* Pual, the community (of the descendants) of Puol, come during the dry season to water and pasture their cattle and to fish and bathe at Yakwac from their inland village of Majok in the Nyerol district. This minor lineage has four branches—the minimal lineages of Diel, Malual, Kwoth, and Mar—members of all of which figure in the genealogy of the camp.

The entire population of Majok was not at Yakwac in 1931, for

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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133 Bahr el Jebel, separated from the river by narrow stretches of papyrus (from river), and they often run parallel to the course of the river.

161 From the deck of a steamer passing down the Bahr el Jebel there is no sign of human occupation and a traveller might judge the country to be without inhabitants. But inland ridges support a large population. These ridges are, as a rule, widely separated and one treks often enough ten to fifteen miles between one village and the next. In places there are broader belts of high ground covered by thick thornwood forest, as in parts of Rengyan country, or wide sandy ridges covered with scrub and palms (*doleib* and *dom*), as in parts of Dok and Rengyan countries. Those used to the bare monotony of Nuerland will be surprised to meet for the first time these sandy stretches which, with the classic beauty of the *dom* palms that surmount them, seem out of place in savannah plains. In the extreme south, in Nyuong country, which I have not visited, the clay runs into the ironstone belt and savannah gives way to savannah forest in which *Anoglissus Leocarpus* predominates. In the north of Western Nuerland, to the north of the Bahr el Ghazal, in Lek and Bul countries, a maze of watercourses and lagoons running in all directions impede progress for the first few miles inland from the river. Then an open treeless plain extends to the borders of Kordofan. Bul country on the lower reaches of the Bahr el Arab is said to be for the greater part under water in the rainy season, though ridges of sand and forest occur on its northern and western limits.

[361] 133 137

Most of Western Nuerland is under water in the rains and the Bahr el Jebel and the Bahr el Ghazal are practically united by surface water on the intervening plain. Nevertheless the Western Nuer are probably better favoured for village sites than the Eastern Nuer.

I entered Western Nuerland at Adok on October 1st, 1936. This year was drier than usual but in a seventeen days tour round the country we walked almost the whole time in several inches of water and were often up to our armpits when crossing depressions which are constantly met on the route. How laborious such trekking is can

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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823 104 *tap*. A big open river is generally called *kir e.g.* the Bahr el Jebel and the Sobat but a river may have its proper name, *e.g.* the Bahr el Ghazal is called Naam. Smaller rivers or streams are denoted by the word *yir*. A marshy depression inland is called *wang* and a big lagoon running out of one of one of the main rivers is called *bar*. A marshy depression running parallel to a river bank is called *tor*. *Toc* are extensive swamps which form the flood plains of rivers.

VIII

311 From my description of their country it will be seen that the Nuer are faced with problems which daunt men better equipped than them. For they are so poor that they have little but their courage and their knowledge to master a harsh environment. Nuer have to consider how to protect and pasture their cattle and also how to grow maize and millet, for they practise both cattle husbandry and hoe-culture and have to take the requirements of both into account. As gardeners their difficulties only arise in the rains for in the dry season nothing will grow in the waterless wastes. As herdsmen there are problems to be solved at all seasons. Gardening will be described later. Here we may consider how Nuer ensure the welfare of their herds by adapting their life to the seasons.

233 361 243 Excess or insufficiency of water is their first problem. It is essential that men and cattle should be protected from the water which covers most of the country in the rains. Cattle get diseases of the hooves and die if they have to stand in water. Protection is given to man and beast by building huts and byres on higher ground. In selecting a village site two considerations must be borne in mind. Firstly there must be a sloping ridge off which rain-water can run to the plain below and this ridge must be broad enough to allow huts and byres to be built and for the cattle to be tethered in the kraals outside the byres. Preferably it should also be broad and long enough to allow the flocks and herds to pasture without having to descend into the inundated plains to graze among the tall rank grasses. Secondly there must be land on one side of the ridge suitable for cultivations, *i.e.*, land which will retain sufficient water for the millet to grow

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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but not enough to drown it altogether. The ideal arrangement, which I have often observed among the Western Nuer, is to build on the edge of a whale-backed ridge with the huts and byres facing the broad back of the ridge. This ensures that the cattle will have dry kraals and also permits them to graze on the short grasses of the ridge. At the back of the huts and byres on slightly lower ground are the gardens. These must be on lower ground because the ridge itself is usually sandy and, where occupied, has a hard trodden floor of ashes and debris and is therefore unsuitable for cultivation of millet. They must also be at the back of the huts and byres so that the cattle can move freely to and from their kraals without invading the standing millet. To prevent this happening people erect a thornwood fence between the kraals and the gardens and extend it along both sides of the kraal, so that only the side opening on to the ridge is left unfenced. In Western Nuerland I have seen low mud dykes erected between the flooded plain and the approach to the ridge. These are to prevent the water encroaching too far in years of high flood.

I have sometimes wondered why Nuer so often build their villages on shadeless ridges in the middle of a treeless plain when it would be possible to build in some of the stretches of thornwood or palm forest that one finds here and there in their country. I have often noticed villages built in the open when shady spots are to be found a few hundred yards away. But Nuer can give good reasons for keeping to their dreary sites exposed to the fierce tropical sun and the bitter north wind. In the open their animals are safer from wild beasts; they are less worried by insect pests, and their kraals soon dry after rain. It would appear also that thornwood forest is less suitable for cultivation of millet than more open country. Nevertheless Nuer sometimes build in open forest. I have seen forest villages in parts of Lou and Eastern Gaajok country. The Eastern Gaajok villages, which I have not visited, are mainly in forest country.

Most of these ridges and knolls have probably been occupied for a very long period of time, perhaps long before the Nuer lived in their present home. In digging graves Nuer have found pots and cooking

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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stones and remains of fires. They have been occupied by many generations of Nuer. Families are not, however, bound to any particular piece of ground, and move freely when the ground is exhausted and no longer yields a good harvest of millet or rich pasturage for the cattle. A whole village may then move and live elsewhere for some years but sooner or later they will settle there again for it is their birth place. Families and groups of kinsmen will leave a village if there are many deaths, if the cattle are poorly (*be ran gien kä kwi tieth, kä kwi ghok*), or if fights have taken place in the village. Byres and huts generally last about five years and have then to be rebuilt. Gardens are cultivated for as long as ten successive years before they are finally exhausted. When cattle and sheep and goats have grazed on village pastures (*dor*) for about the same length of time the grasses show evident signs of exhaustion. Thus in 1936 the people of Nyueny pointed out to me that after about nine years of occupation their village pastures had been overgrazed and were poor in consequence.

Village sites are owned by certain clans and sections of clans. However, ownership is mainly a matter of sentiment, based on long association between a ridge and a lineage, and since the country is not over-populated and the Nuer do not make very extensive cultivations it never becomes a legal issue. Anyone may settle in a village and the villagers will show him where he may build his huts and byre and cultivate his millet. This practically means that he may build and cultivate anywhere not already in occupation or under cultivation. Nuer are very generous in such matters. In fact, however, a man is unlikely to settle in a village unless he can claim kinship with some of the villagers, *i.e.*, is genealogically attached to the dominant lineage there. *Mar*, kinship, can generally be discovered somewhere and consequently it is usually possible to place all the occupants of a village on a single genealogical chart. There are no real problems of ownership of land among the Nuer.

Some parts of Nuerland are blessed with better village sites than others. Lou country is exceptionally well favoured in this respect though Western Nuerland has many fine ridges. Lou people say that in a year of *nyuoc*, or high river-flood, their ridges remain dry

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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West, they are often made by streams for fishing. When the second harvest is reaped the cattle are brought back to the village to eat the millet stalks, if the camps are near. As pools dry up, or pasturage is exhausted, or the fishing becomes poor, the young men make new camps and several intermediate camps may be made before they move to their large annual camping grounds at the side of lakes or marshes or on river banks. The early camps are often small, being manned by a few kinsmen but tend to get larger as the season continues and water becomes scarcer. The final camps may contain several hundred persons. By the middle of January the villages in the Lou country are deserted but in areas more favoured with water supplies, for example in Lek country, some of the older people may still be in the villages in the middle of February.

The Lou people stay inland as long as they can and in a wet year may remain inland throughout the dry season. They fall back on the deeper pools, some large enough to be called lakes, which hold up the water in a stream or depression, *e.g.*, at Muöt töt, Muot dit, Fading, Fadoi, Gwonggwong, Yollei, Tepjor and Nyerol. These pools supply them with abundant fish. If forced to leave them the Gun major tribal section moves north to the Sobat and south-west to the flooded plain of the Bahr el Zeraf in the country of the Twic Dinka (*toc Twini*) and the Mor major tribal section moves northeast to the Nyanding river or East to the Geni and Pibor rivers.

[721]

In the old days fighting frequently occurred if the Lou moved to these camping sites because the banks of the Sobat belonged to the Balak people, while occupation of the Geni and Pibor brought them into contact with the Beir and Anuak peoples, and their move to the south-west was trespass on Dinka grazing grounds. Even the lower reaches of the Nyanding river do not belong to the Lou for the Gaajok have their villages along it and have fishing rights in its pools.

The Madjok villagers with whom I camped for several months at Yakwac in 1931 had moved to Pul Telä for an intermediate camp early in December and had reached Yakwac about the middle of

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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January. They remained at Yakwac till the beginning of June when they moved back to their village. As the Nuer put it " They started to move in the month of *Tiop indit* and remained *dar* (in between village and river) in the *muth* (second half) of *Tiop indit*, the whole of the month of *Tiop intot* and the *bor* (first half) of the month of *Pet*. In the first half of *Pet* they arrived at the river and remained there till the first half of the month of *Kornyuot*."

The Eastern Jikany have not the same need to move as have the Lou. Nevertheless, all the Gaajok, Gaajak, and Gaagwang tribal sections fall back on rivers before the dry season is far advanced. The three primary tribal sections of the Gaajok move as follows: The Laang concentrate on the Sobat, the Wangkeac move south-east to the banks of the Pibor and Gila, and the Yol either camp southwards near the junction of the Wokau and the Sobat or northwards along the edges of the Macar swamp. The Gaajak primary tribal sections move as follows: The northern Thiang sections (Kang and Luony) go north to the Daga river, the southern Thiang sections (Tar) and the Reng, Nyayan, Wau, and Cany sections camp on the banks of the Baro, Jokau, Adura, and Makwei rivers. The Gaajak camping grounds are mainly in Abyssinian territory.

I do not know anything of the seasonal movements of the Lak, Gaawär, and Thiang tribes beyond the fact that they fall back on the Bahr el Jebel and the Bahr el Zeraf and on streams flowing into these two rivers.

The Western Nuer mainly camp on inland streams which are no great distance from their villages. The Karlual people mostly concentrate first on the Loogh stream and afterwards on the Cal and Wangtac streams. All these streams join the Bahr el Ghazal. The Dok camp near pools in the bed of the Waard stream. Without attempting to give full details, which indeed I could not furnish, about other dry season encampments among the Western Nuer it may be said that the people of this part of Nuerland do not travel in the dry season on the same scale as the Eastern Nuer, especially the Lou. Some of their earlier camps are made a few hundred yards from the

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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villages. In 1936 the people of Puic had formed two camps on the Gany stream which could be seen from the village and were so near that the girls came to the camps twice a day from the village to milk the cattle.

The western Jikany move to the Jikany marshes (*toc Jikany*) at the edge of the Bahr el Ghazal. These flood plains of rivers are the most favoured camping sites because, as the swamps slowly dry up, they provide succulent pasturage for the cattle and there is always sufficient water in their deep depressions. In Lou country there are no big stretches of *toc* such as one finds in the flood plains of the Bahr el Ghazal, the Gila River, the Bahr el Zeraf, and in the Macar swamps.

A village tends to move about the same time and to visit the same pastures each year though time and place are determined to some extent by variations of rainfall and river flooding.

The population of camps varies from about 20 to 100 in the smaller intermediate camps, up to several hundred at the larger camps. That is an approximate estimate based on a limited number of bare observations.

Most of the Nuer are in their big dry season camps by February and remain there till May when the married men and women return to the wet season villages to clear the cultivations and to erect fences and to repair huts and byres. If there is then a temporary drought they may return to the camps. The young men and girls follow with the cattle in May or June according as the rains are early or late. The young men encamped at Yakwac in 1930 left early in June for their inland village of Majok. Those encamped at Konye had left for Fadoi shortly before I visited the village on May 15th in 1935. The young men break up camp as soon as their elders who have preceded them to the village send back a messenger to tell them that the rains have fallen heavily in the interior and that sowing has commenced. Instead of the leisurely journey from villages to the big dry season camps, which may take some six weeks, the journey back to the villages in completed as quickly as possible and takes one or two days according to the distance.

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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The word *ghuth* is used to describe these movements. It does not denote a mere journey but implies a change of residence and the movement of cattle and household goods. It is used alike of men who drive the cattle from village to camp, from camp to camp, and from camp to village. It is also used of women who move separately, carrying their milk vessels and other possessions in baskets, for "*kwak cereka ghok*" "Household goods are like cattle." Of the movement from villages to camps one says "*Ce nath ghuth wicni*," "the people have moved into camp" and of the movement from camps back to villages one says "*Ce nath ghuth ciäng*," "the people have moved to the villages."

The Nuer pastoral year may therefore be divided into two main periods, the six wet season months, from June to December, when the people live in their villages, and the six dry season months, from December to June, when they live in camps. The dry season half of the year may be further divided into the earlier part when people are burning the grasses and living in intermediate small camps for a few weeks, and the latter part when they live for several months in large camps near lakes or wells or on the banks of rivers.

IX.

Inland, especially in Lou country, it is usually necessary to dig wells at the height of the dry season. Twenty years ago this was probably more general than it is today, because, as already explained, the main rivers and marshes lay outside Lou territory. Wells are sometimes dug also in Eastern Jikany country.

As the Sobat falls it drains the streams that intersect Lou country and, before long, their water is reduced to occasional pools where the beds are deepest. In the smaller streams these soon dry up and wells are excavated. Capt. H. H. Wilson first drew attention to these wells at Muöt töt (*Amwot el Sogheir*) in 1902 and wrote of them: "Dug on the sandy banks of the *khor*, their depth varied from 20 to 30 feet, with a diameter of about 2 feet 6 inches. Owing to the solidarity of the ground, the walls of the well stood without much

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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Everyone wakes before sunrise and satisfies the needs of nature. For about three quarters of an hour after sunrise men sit by their hearths protected by windscreens and women outside their beehive grass huts chatting, smoking and gazing at the cattle which lie, still sleeping, many with their muzzles tucked into their barrels, and chew the cud. Being close together they rub their bodies against one another and lick each other. They present a medley of colour: fawn, grey, mouse, black, brown, blue and chestnut-roan, with many variations of shade and distribution.

The huts and windscreens are generally erected in a semi-circle with their backs to the prevailing wind, though they sometimes form an almost complete circle and at other times are arranged in lines. Windscreens are of simple construction. A narrow trench is dug for three quarters of a circle and handfuls of grass are planted, root downwards into the trench. Each handful is beaten tightly against the last one so that a solid screen of grass is formed. The grasses generally used for this purpose are *dut in lum*, a tall coarse riverside grass called *wath* (*Sorghum lanceolatum Stapf.*) and *war* (*Vetiveria nigritiana Stapf*). Where camps are made near villages millet stalks are sometimes used instead of grass. All these grasses are tall and sturdy and they bend to the wind and do not break. Men sleep in the shelter of these screens on the hearths which occupy the whole of the enclosed space. Here the fire is never allowed to go out, and from day to day the height of the hearth is slowly raised by accumulation of ashes. Women make huts in the same way as men make windscreens but they bend the tops of the grasses so that they meet. They are then tied together and the sides are plastered with cattle dung. Within these flimsy shelters which contrast with the massive byres and well-built huts of their wet season villages Nuer spend about half the year. Sometimes, as at Yakwac, a camp is made in a wet season village belonging to kinsmen at the edge of a river. Then the men desert their windscreens at midday for the cool interiors of the byres and the women sleep at night in the village huts instead of erecting special grass huts. But even when, as in certain parts of Nuerland where there is no great deficiency of water

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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•361 or dearth of pasturage, the people remain on their village sites or move only a short distance from them, they insist on making a camp nearby, for such is the ancient dry-season custom.

342 The windscreen (*geau*) does not seem to be used in Western Nuerland. In the camps I have seen there both sexes live in grass huts plastered with dung, the huts of married couples being rather larger than those occupied by youths or girls. The huts appear also to be more carefully constructed than in Eastern Nuerland. In
343 Nuer camps one sometimes sees a rough shelter (*geau deeni*) constructed of branches with grass, often the riverside *buor*, thrown on top to give shade for the young calves during the heat of the day. Otherwise they are taken into the huts or tethered beneath a tree.

233 In the front of the windscreens are tethered the cattle. When they are grazing the kraal is a circle studded with pegs and sprinkled with drying dung. When they come back in the evening they are tethered to these pegs. Adult cattle are placed in the centre of the kraal, the calves on the outside nearest to the windscreens where they are under the watchful eyes of their owners, and the sheep and goats in small clusters here and there between the adult cattle and the calves. Oxen of enormous size, with great spreading horns trained into artificial shapes, stand docile and lethargic, prominent among the other cattle. A man places his favourite ox in a line with the entrance to his windscreen so that he can see it without moving.

234 Before and during milking youths display themselves in company
883 with their favourite oxen. Boys lead the oxen round the camp and their young owners walk behind them brandishing their spears and leaping gracefully into the air, shouting and singing the while. This display is called *rau* and is one of the customs of dry season camps. It is not practised in wet season villages because a youth does not show off before his own family but when he has a large audience, including girls whose favours he wishes to win. Youths often continue to display themselves till the cattle are driven to pasture.

234 Milking starts between 6-30 and 7-00. If the morning is misty
462 it may be delayed till slightly later. As men are forbidden to milk

8:Howell E, G-5 (1942-1944)1954
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

131 [161] 32,000 square miles and, as it has a population of about 350,000, it will be seen that the density of population is low. Some areas are, however, more densely populated than others.

361 During the rainy season, roughly from May until November but varying from year to year, the people occupy higher ground which is better drained and comparatively free from flood. This higher ground, where they build their permanent villages and cattle-byres and have their cultivations, is limited and widely distributed. In some areas it is concentrated in a series of narrow ridges, usually running parallel to the main channels of the rivers, in others dispersed in a series of isolated outcrops. Such natural features have their effects on the size of communities, on communications and therefore social contacts, and, as a result, on political and social structure, producing local variations of detail which make generalizations difficult.

133 137 Surrounding the higher ground are the vast areas of open grass plain with thickets of acacia bush,[1] intersected by a network of grass-choked watercourses and the main rivers whose flood-plains produce different ecological conditions and different associations of grass types. Each of these regions has its function in the seasonal activities, which largely concern animal husbandry, but in which crop production, the collection of natural vegetation, and fishing play an important part. It must be emphasized here that the Nuer economy is still essentially at subsistence level and that there is no specialization or organized trade.

I do not propose to enlarge here on the subject of grass associations and pasture utilization. It is worth noting, however, that apart from soil, temperature, and length of day, one of the most important factors in the determination of grass types is the depth and period of immersion during the rainy season. On the higher ground, where the Nuer build their permanent villages, comparatively flood-free conditions produce a mixture of perennial and a few annual grasses which are fully grazed when the cattle are unable to move farther afield. Below this level are the vast 'intermediate' plains, subject to accumulations of rainfall and overflow from the drainage channels, where the grasses are predominantly perennials (*Setaria spp.*, *Hyparrhenia rufa*, &c.). These grasses are unpalatable and virtually useless except as bulk when in a dry and mature condition. So long as moisture is retained in the soil, however, they produce a green regrowth which provides valuable pasture, but in most areas the moisture is gone by the end of January, sometimes earlier. At this point, the cattle must be driven on to the riverain marshes, which, subject to deeper and longer inundation from the rivers and watercourses as well as from rain-flood, produce other types of perennial grasses (*Vossia cuspidata*, *Echinochloa pyramidalis*, *Oryza spp.*, &c.). These grasses are of variable value during the dry season, but generally speaking provide green nutritive grazing

[1] Mainly *Acacia seyal* Del., *Acacia fistula* Schwfth., *Balanites aegyptiaca* Del., &c.

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for better fishing which the rivers provide. It is also possible, and this is a Nuer contention, that the watercourses which flow through Lou country are becoming clogged with silt and vegetation, with the result that water-points dry out earlier in the year though grazing may be improved.

Eastern Nuer District, which lies north of the Sobat up to the borders of Ethiopia, is flanked in the west by the vast Machar swamps, a region which might provide plentiful grazing. In fact, the people prefer to descend to the upper reaches of the Sobat and Baro rivers, where there is not only adequate pasture for their herds, but also exceptionally good fishing and an opportunity to raise a rich crop of maize on the fertile silt left by the flood water.

This whole area, the Zeraf Valley, Lou, and Jikany Dhor, is often referred to generally as 'Eastern Nuer' in contrast to 'Western Nuer', the region west of the Nile. The latter area is known to the Nuer who live east of it simply as *kuı Kir*, 'over the Nile', but it is known that it is the original homeland of all the Nuer and is sometimes referred to as *cieng Naadh*, 'Nuer homeland', as opposed to *dhor*, 'the outside'. This distinction between eastern and western Nuer is only valid in so far as those east of the Nile are all colonizers, for though there are minor cultural differences between western Nuer and the Zeraf tribes, these do not seem to me to be any greater than are those between the latter and the Lou or the Jikany (Dhor). In speaking of the 'Eastern Nuer' therefore, I refer specifically to those people (i.e. the Jikany Dhor) who live in Eastern Nuer District, an administrative classification, and not to all Nuer east of the Nile.

Western Nuer District is divided geographically and to some extent demographically into two distinct parts. There is first the area lying north of the Bahr el Ghazal and partly west of it, and secondly the region south of that river. The difference in terrain is not very great, but whereas the people who live in the north rely on the Bahr el Ghazal itself or the rivers which flow into it, those in the south rely almost entirely on the pastures provided by the natural and seasonal irrigation of the Bahr el Jebel or by the flood waters of rivers coming in from the south-west. In the southern area are the Nuong and Dur, Dok and Aak' and Jagei. These tribes, whose permanent settlements and cultivations are on a ridge of sandy ground which runs parallel to the Bahr el Jebel, graze their cattle in the dry season along the edges of that river or along inland water systems referred to as the Bilnyang system. This system is partly dependent on spill water from the Nile and partly on water derived from a different catchment area. Hence in years when the Nile provides inadequate grazing or is inaccessible owing to heavy flooding, the Bilnyang system gives an alternative. North of these tribes are the Jikany Cieng whose country lies in the triangle formed by the intersection of the Bahr

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131 el Jebel and the Bahr el Ghazal. The Leik and Bul tribes are nearly
●361 all on the left bank of the Bahr el Ghazal, although some of them move to grazing grounds across the river during the dry months of the year.

361 All Nuer are compelled to migrate during the dry season and to
166 set up their cattle-camps near permanent water supplies and where the receding waters of the rivers leave green and succulent grass for their animals. At first their cattle-camps are widely distributed over the 'intermediate' plains, but concentration increases as the season advances until, just before the break of the rains, in late January or February, all cattle are on the *toic*. The distances covered in these seasonal migrations vary considerably. Many of the Lak and Thiang Nuer, for example, move only a few miles from their permanent homes, while many of the Gaawar and Lou move eighty miles or more. These differences, however, have not affected the similarity of movements among the Nuer as a whole. The swing of the seasonal pendulum to and fro is common to all and the difference is one of distance only.

The permanent settlements of the Nuer are not concentrated like those of the Shilluk, Anuak, and some of the Dinka. A Nuer village generally consists of a number of domestic units, each having one or more cattle-byres and a few dwelling-huts, separated by distances varying from a few hundred yards to over a mile. This diffusion of dwelling-sites is partially caused by the nature of the ground, for land which is above the level of the floods is limited in most areas of Nuerland. It is, however, an inherent characteristic of the Nuer to set up his abode sufficiently far from his neighbours to emphasize and retain his individualism, yet sufficiently near to enjoy the privileges and economic advantages which neighbourhood brings. Cultivations are [24-1] usually opened up in the area immediately surrounding the homestead, both for convenience and for ease in protecting crops against the ravages of wild animals and straying cattle. Fencing is impossible except in woodland areas, and is in any case a laborious process, but apart from this consideration the Nuer seems to have an intense desire to see his cultivations round his home. When the ground becomes exhausted he will move his home to a new area rather than have his gardens a few hundred yards away from it. During the dry season the settlements are partially or completely abandoned according to whether permanent water is available or not and whether there is sufficient grain to keep the older and less active members of the community. The bulk of the population always moves with the cattle, and by February there are few people left in the villages except where grazing grounds are close enough for daily contact.

361 The distribution of population in Nuerland is determined by the
621 physical conditions I have described. Communications during the rains are usually difficult, and local communities, large or small, are to

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a greater or lesser extent isolated at certain times of the year. Such periodic isolation is one of the factors which tend to emphasize the distinction between social groups and strengthen the ties within them, for the people are compelled by territorial proximity to conform to an accepted pattern of behaviour. During the dry season, movements in the pasture areas are comparatively easy, but camps may be far apart and communications therefore tedious. The majority of people from a local community who occupy the same permanent settlement during the rains, tend to join together in the cattle-camps, and their relationship is therefore constant throughout the year. This is not, however, always the case, for people of different descent-groups, normally living together and assisting one another during the season of cultivation, may split up and join different cattle-camps during the summer. The way in which people join together and concentrate during the dry season is usually determined by kinship ties, or ties arising from common residence in the permanent settlements, though it need not be so. For example, the Lak Nuer are sometimes forced to move their cattle into Gaawar grazing areas because their own are insufficient to meet their needs in certain years. They do so by agreement with the Gaawar and graze their cattle there on sufferance. A closer analysis of the relations of Lak with Gaawar will usually show that some form of kinship relationship exists, or at least a relationship through intermarriage between the individual units concerned.

Climatic conditions adverse to the cultivation of millet coupled with widespread cattle disease (rinderpest, contagious bovine pleuropneumonia, trypanosomiasis, &c.) make life extremely precarious. Nuer like to claim that a mixed economy is forced upon them, and that they would scarcely bother to cultivate at all if their cattle were sufficient. This is, I think, largely an ideal. Cattle, though subject to disease, provide a measure of security in an environment where poor drainage and erratic rainfall distribution make crop-production a most risky enterprise and famine a common event. They might well cultivate more energetically if the processes of agriculture were not so laborious and their efforts so often of little avail.

Small quantities of maize are planted in the early rains and the crop matures, if they are lucky, about the end of July, providing temporary relief until the first crop of millet is available. This crop matures a few weeks later, while a second crop is harvested in November or December and sometimes as late as January. During this period the rains may be favourable to both crops and the Nuer are well supplied. In most years, however, one or the other crop fails and in the worst years the early crop is late in starting owing to lack of rain only to be ruined by torrential downpours when it is reaching maturity, while the second crop is often destroyed by floods. In such circumstances the Nuer are short of food, and two unsuccessful years mean

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Kerfeil and those linked with them by permanent association. Within it each collateral branch of the main clan has definite rights to a certain part, usually specified by reference to villages on higher ground, and elsewhere to pools which provide water and fish and to the pastures which surround them. *Rol* (or *dhor*) is relative like the word *cieng*, which has much the same meaning on a smaller scale.[1]

I must emphasize again that land to the Nuer must include all types, for their subsistence economy is maintained by the balanced and seasonal utilization of all three, but it may be as well to examine separately and in more detail the types of land used for crop production and animal husbandry and the rights in water-points and fisheries which go with them.

Arable Land

From the legal point of view the problem of rights in arable land is not a complicated one among the Nuer, and there is virtually no litigation concerning either individual or collective claims. The reasons are not far to seek. During the cultivation season the Nuer occupy the high ground which is free from river floods or swamping by heavy rain. Such high ground is limited when compared to the total area occupied by Nuer tribes, but there is generally more than enough available. An intricate and complex system of rights in land cannot be necessary unless there is scarcity, and this is not usually the case. Nuer like to have their gardens close to their dwellings, so that they can protect them against wild animals and straying cattle. They do not usually fence their fields, particularly in those areas where wood and thorn are not easily available.[2] The Nuer village, moreover, is not built on a concentrated pattern, and each homestead is separated from its neighbours by a considerable distance ranging from about a hundred yards to over a mile. The Nuer ideal is to live in the bosom of his own immediate family as isolated as possible from his neighbours and free from tiresome intrusions. This individualistic outlook is, however, limited by a variety of considerations. In the clearing of land, in the heavier tasks of cultivation, and in harvesting, collective assistance, dependent on the mutual obligations of kinship and neighbourhood and the provision of beer and meat for workers, is necessary. A Nuer would not wish to live so far away from his neighbours that it would be impossible to take advantage of their help. Further, in the past at any rate, the need for defence and concentration against

[1] *For definition of the word cieng, see pp. 90–91.*

[2] *Fencing is used in some areas, particularly in the heavily forested regions of the Zeraf Valley, but usually only on newly cleared ground. The branches of trees cut are then used to make thorny enclosures, but these do not last for more than a year or two at most and there is rarely an attempt made to renew them. Fencing is employed particularly when new cultivations are cleared and sown before the homestead has been rebuilt close to them.*

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attack was another factor of importance in shaping the pattern of the Nuer settlement, but certainly did not encroach on their desire to live freely, unhindered by the irritations of daily contact with neighbours. There is even the possibility that the establishment of public security by the present Government has resulted in a tendency to move farther afield, but there is little evidence to show with any certainty that villages and settlements were any different a hundred years ago.[1] Apart from these factors, the pattern was obviously governed by purely topographical and climatic considerations: the contours of the high ground, its extent in relation to the population of the community, and the fertility of the soil.

The Nuer are not aware of the value of crop rotation, and do not use their cattle to fertilize the soil; when the ground is exhausted they simply abandon it and move elsewhere, rebuilding their houses and cattle-byres on a new site. There is therefore no high degree of permanence of tenure, and no rigidity of rights in arable land. A man and his family have the prescriptive right to use the land they have cleared, and to do so to the exclusion of every other man so long as they choose. They also have the right to the products of the land and of their own labours, though this right may be said to be limited by their obligations to assist kinsmen, obligations which may be extended in terms of kinship to neighbours, should the vagaries of climate affect their crops. We have already seen that the maldistribution of rainfall coupled with an impervious and otherwise badly drained soil makes crop production a precarious undertaking. In bad years Nuer must rely on the generosity of their more successful kinsmen and sometimes take refuge with them (for the widespread failure of crops only occasionally happens) and in years of heavy rainfall, those whose land is high and well-drained enjoy an advantage which is lost to them when the rains are light. There is, of course, no means of enforcing the rules of hospitality and kinship obligations in such circumstances, but refusal to assist hungry kinsmen will lead to fission and the conscious breaking of relationship (*dak mare*). There are other sanctions for maintaining such relationships, not the least of which is the probable need at some future date to demand assistance in return. A man who acquires a reputation for meanness quickly loses the privileges which membership of a community provides, and also the privileges of kinship with Nuer living in other parts of the country.

Claims on the hospitality of kinsmen are often carried to extremes

[1] During the period of invasion and occupation of Dinka country there were periods when the Nuer lived in cattle-camps of concentrated form, a circle of huts or shelters, and did so for several years at a time. The camps were built on the same pattern as those used in the dry season today, but it is clear that agricultural activity was extremely limited and there was certainly no need for a complex system of rights governing the distribution of arable land.

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and well beyond the limits of the reciprocal distribution of bridewealth cattle, but I do not wish to exaggerate the extent or effectiveness of economic reciprocity in the kinship system. In the past as well as the present, grain and other food were bartered for cattle, other animal stock, and other commodities, and there was considerable trade, which increased in volume in years of famine. Nowadays, with the introduction of a money economy, grain is bought with cash either from other Nuer or from Arab merchants, who, sponsored by the Government, often import large quantities to meet local shortages.

A stranger cannot intrude himself into a community or build his house and clear his fields without its acceptance. Not only will objections be raised which might lead to his ejection, but he could not hope to gain full membership of the community and the advantages which follow. This does not, however, usually arise because strangers are nearly always a welcome addition to the community, which thereby gains in strength, and because the newcomer can nearly always claim some previous link arising from kinship, marital ties, or at any rate close friendship (*math*), with one or more members of that community. In any case a form of social relationship will be forged in the passage of time by intermarriage and adoption into the lineage structure of the community. A change of residence, if it is permanent, means also a change of social and political affiliation.

For these reasons, because crop production is not an important feature of their economy, at any rate in many parts of Nuerland, and because, despite the obvious limitations of flood-free land, there is no great shortage, there are no complex laws of land tenure. Disputes are rare, and still more rarely taken before the courts.[1] Thus, though circumstances may change with the development of agricultural enterprise, land tenure is not at present an important or well-defined feature of Nuer customary law.

Grazing Rights

During the rains the cattle are kept in the permanent settlements and quartered in cattle-byres (*luak*), each family unit having its own. The *luak* is the centre of the family group consisting of the head of the family and his wives, who, each with her children, occupy separate huts which are clustered around it. Grazing is used communally by all members of the settlement, and although pastures are limited, especially at the height of the rains, and although there may be periodic shortages when the cattle lose condition, no more precise division of the territory is necessary. Disputes rarely, if ever, arise, and in the herding of cattle the members of one settlement are united by common

[1] The only form of dispute commonly brought before the courts concerns 'animal trespass', where straying cattle, sheep, or goats damage the crops of neighbours. Compensation is often awarded in such cases.

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interests. In most parts of Nuerland too the nature of the terrain—isolated outcrops of flood-free ground often widely separated—usually precludes the possibility of clashes between different settlements. Likewise when the rains cease the cattle are widely dispersed in small camps over the 'intermediate' plains. There is no shortage and no need for a clear demarcation of boundaries between the units of one community, or between different communities coming from different settlements.

As the dry season advances, when the 'intermediate' grasses become unpalatable and water supplies run short, concentration increases, and the small camps join together in larger ones in the *toic*. Cattle-camps with five or six thousand animals are not uncommon, and often there are many of such camps clustered along the banks of a river or watercourse in one region. More careful regard for rights in these pastures and in the fisheries which go with them may be necessary if disputes are to be avoided. Yet there is usually plenty of grazing, though this varies according to prevailing climatic conditions. In one year the river may be low and the rains light, with the result that the Nuer must penetrate farther into the riverain marshes; in another, a high river level may limit their movements to the fringes. Both circumstances may result in shortages, and something between the two extremes is probably the ideal; but many Nuer tribes have alternative grazing grounds which are utilized in varying proportions according to the year. For example, the Dok and Jagei Nuer can use the marshes of the Bahr el Jebel in a year when that river is low and much of the flood-plain uncovered, or they can move to the pastures of the Bilnyang system, which are produced partly by water spilling from the main river, and partly by water draining from a different catchment area. Some Nuer tribes do not have these advantages; in some areas periodic plagues of biting flies or mosquitoes, whose incidence also obviously varies with different climatic conditions, prevent the full utilization of their summer grazing grounds. Generally speaking, there are rarely acute shortages, and even in the *toic* the boundaries between tribes or tribal segments need not be closely guarded.

In certain circumstances, however, such boundaries become essential, and their infringement may then cause disputes, which often result in violence and bloodshed. Sometimes there is an unusual shortage both of grazing grasses and water-points, and people who have normally tolerated the intrusion of outsiders less favourably provided than themselves, turn upon them and demand their withdrawal. Again, an epidemic of some contagious disease such as rinderpest or contagious bovine pleuro-pneumonia makes quarantine and segregation of the herds essential. Fear of the spread of disease compels the owners to guard their boundaries more closely. To bring contaminated cattle into an area recognized as the exclusive right of other segments, and

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where strangers are only allowed on sufferance, is a particularly serious infringement of grazing rights, and one which raises a storm of protest quickly followed by blows. Disputes of this nature do not usually start on a tribal scale; the initial quarrel arises between two adjacent cattle-camps near the boundaries, but feelings of indignation may extend along the lines of segmentation until two large segments or even two tribes are ranged against each other. Rights in grazing are recognized and follow the lines of the segmentary system, but are not a constant source of friction. Violation of these rights in years when it was necessary to guard them almost invariably led to hostilities in the past. Nowadays, though fights are not infrequent and boundary disputes are a common cause of blood-feuds, disputes of this nature are often settled peacefully in the courts.

Water Rights

Rights in watering places cannot be treated except in relation to grazing. In the dry season it is the availability of water which largely determines the extent to which certain pastures within the territory of the tribe or the tribal segment are used. This applies particularly to those Nuer tribes who are unable to reach perennial rivers like the Zeraf, Bahr el Jebel, or Sobat. Disputes over pools, especially in dry years when they dry out early in the year, often arise and may lead to bloodshed. Water rights, however, follow the same principles which govern the division of territory according to the segmentation of tribal structure. Shallow wells are sometimes sunk, and are the property of the individual who digs them, but subject always to his obligation to share with his kinsmen and neighbours.

Fishing Rights and Hunting Rights

Fishing rights go with the divisions of territory in which the fish pools are situated and are guarded with perhaps a greater intensity of feeling than are rights in land. Fishing in the riverain area is essentially a dry season occupation, and there are fishing pools or stretches of shallow rivers and watercourses attached to and situated within grazing areas. Fishing is also a collective activity, and the right of the individual is limited by his membership of the tribal segment to which the pool belongs. Fishing again depends largely on the climatic conditions prevailing. A season of heavy rainfall followed by an abrupt drop in levels in the rivers and their tributaries is usually the ideal. Fish have been able to move far upstream during the rains, but are prevented from returning to the deeper waters of the main channels and are concentrated in depressions and pools shallow enough for the people to spear them. In such circumstances fish are not scarce, and pools

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family, both legal and domestic, to demand a man's major allegiance at the expense of the solidarity of the wider kinship group which provides a boy with scope for his deepest interests and ambitions. 583 602

VIII

That these different forms of marriage and concubinage are of great sociological importance cannot be doubted. It is desirable, therefore, after having formally defined the different types of marriage and concubinage, to estimate approximately how widespread are the other types of union in comparison with simple legal marriage before discussing their influence on behaviour. After taking soundings by recording genealogies of a few persons with whom I was intimate among the Lek, Lou, and Jikany tribes, I decided to pay special attention to this problem on my 1936 expedition. A village of the Karlual tribe was selected and a survey of marital conditions was conducted in it. The results confirmed the impression formed by my earlier genealogical enquiries that all these different types of marriage and concubinage are common. My previous soundings proved, moreover, that the village investigated was fairly typical of Nuer villages. 121

The village chosen was Nyueny. It was not selected at random but was chosen because it is the home of my servant Nhial whose family already knew me. Though his father resides there it is the village of his maternal kin and they had known for some years about my work. I was therefore sure of a friendly welcome and consequently it was possible to make a rapid survey. Had I been a complete stranger the enquiry could not have been accomplished in the short time I had to give to it, because Nuer oppose any investigation till they have seasoned one and, even then, are stubborn informants. On previous expeditions I had recorded the genealogies of Nhial on both sides of his family so that much of my work was merely checking on the spot this earlier information.

I spent five weeks in Nyueny. There was insufficient time for a full enquiry because such enquiries are exceedingly difficult—indeed I know of no more difficult task among Nilotic peoples than that of obtaining correct genealogies. But it was sufficient to obtain a well-checked record of matrimonial conditions, even if it is not a complete record, since I was by this time well advanced in my Nuer studies and was, moreover, able to obtain reliable and friendly assistance from the people of Nyueny. 124

Nyueny is a typical Nuer village. It consists of a number of huts and byres dotted in the arc of a circle along a sandy ridge. The main village is about a mile in length and is divided into three hamlets: Nyueny, Dakyil, and Kamthiang (see Diagram No. VI). About a mile to the north lies the hamlet of Dorpan, the occupants of which recently moved from the main village. The byres of Nyueny do not face straight on to the ridge because wind-blown rain would be swept through the doorway but they face E. to S.E. On the western side of the village, at the backs of the huts and byres, lie gardens; and gardens and bush alternate between the main village and the hamlet of Dorpan. Nyueny is one of the finest 361

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VILLAGE OF NYUENY KARLUAL TRIBE

Diagram VI

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Nyueny is one of the finest
ridges (*thur*) in Western Nuerland and in times of flood the people of neighbouring villages encamp there. This advantage is slightly offset by the corresponding fact that there is often insufficient water for the cattle early in the dry season, so that the people of Nyueny are among the first to move to dry season camps. The population of the village is approximately[1] 129 souls.

The village, commencing from the outlying hamlet of Dorpan, consists of the following 26 homesteads.

Homestead No. 1 Nyaluthni ♀—Rial ♂. She is a barren woman with many cattle which she has obtained partly as fees, for she is a well known diviner and magician, and partly from the bride-wealth of her nieces, for her brother has several daughters and she not only gets the cattle due to a bride's paternal aunt but also some of those due to a bride's paternal uncle, because, being barren, she counts in some respects as a man. She exchanged a Dinka woman for cattle (*ce cek jaanga luil ka ghok*). This was not, properly speaking, a marriage but we might describe it more correctly as an exchange or even a purchase. This woman, Luel ♀, bore two children, Majak ♂ and Nyagai ♀, by a Dinka man. Nyaluthni has also married, by payment of bride-wealth and by performance of the usual ceremonial, two Nuer girls. One Nyabuor ♀, gave birth to twins, of whom Buth ♂, survives, by a man of the Jikul clan, Wecyil ♂ by name. When Wecyil ♂ died she cohabited with a Jikany man called Kemkin ♂. and she is now in child by him. The second girl, Nyakoka ♀, has recently been married and she has not yet borne children. She cohabits with Rwot ♂, a kinsman of Nyaluthni of the Tedar minor lineage.

These men do not live in Nyaluthni's homestead but frequently visit it and stay there for one or several nights. They hoe her gardens and are chosen to cohabit with her wives because they are known to be hard-working gardeners. They are given meals when they are present, and on the marriage of the daughters he has begotten the genitor will receive a cow from the bride-wealth of each.

Nyaluthni (generally known as Nyarial after her father) is the pater of the children of her wives and she is always spoken of as such when their names are mentioned. Thus people always speak of Majak ♂—Nyarial ♀ and Nyagai ♀—Nyarial ♀. Her children address her as *gwa*, "father", and not as *ma*, "mother". She is a woman of outstanding character, with fine features, and always well-dressed. She is very competent and runs her homestead like a man. If her wives are lazy or disobedient she beats them. They treat her with the respect due to a husband and place meals before her with the same ceremony as they would employ to a male husband. She speaks of them as "my wives". She directs the business

[1] I say "approximately" because it was not my intention to compile a census though in fact I did so in the course of my enquiry into matrimonial conditions in the village. Consequently it is possible that two or three girls whom I have reckoned as residents are married to husbands in other villages. This may have been the case at the southernmost end of the village. I know everyone in the of rest the village too well for this mistake to have been made, enquiry always being controlled by personal contact.

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
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in the year. At about this time the younger men of the tribe take the cattle out of the villages while the older men and the women reap the harvest. When the harvest is completed they burn the grass around the various pools which they intend to make their dry season quarters. As these rain-water pools dry up, the various household groups and groups of households which have been quartered near them begin to concentrate around larger pools in river beds or near a river bed in which it is known that wells can be dug or along the banks of the Sobat itself. Here they spend the remainder of the dry season. The Sobat begins to rise again about May and further drainage ceases. In June the rains commence and a double process of irrigation occurs. The Sobat runs out along what, on a map, appear to be its tributaries, but are more accurately its channels of overflow, while at the source end of these streams the rains begin to collect and run towards the Sobat, so that the two waters, the outgoing river water and the incoming rain water, meet. As soon as the rains commence, part of the occupants of the dry season camps return to their villages to sow the crops and as soon as it is seen that the rains have set in for good, they are followed by the young men who drive the cattle as quickly as possible to the villages where they will spend the height of the wet season.

Year by year this ebb and flow from village to dry season camps and back again goes on, but, though it is repeated each year, the time of movement, the density of concentration around water supplies, and even the place of concentration, vary according to the severity of the season. Thus, the Lou will remain as long as possible around their area of permanent villages and will concentrate around large pools like Tepjor, Nyerol, Muot Dit, Muot Tot, Fading, rather than migrate to the Sobat, Nyanding and Geni rivers, and the Dinka marshes, though I think that they generally find their way to these localities before the dry season is over.

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A permanent village may consist of a group of huts and byres on an isolated *dabba*, but those I have seen generally comprise a slightly raised area of ground of a few hundred square yards dotted with strings of homesteads. A village may cover an area of several square miles without intermission of dwellings. I regret that I am not able to give any clear idea of the social distribution of these villages since I have only lived with the Nuer in their dry season camps save for a short stay at

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
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361 Pakur village (Lek tribe) on my introduction to Nuerland when I was quite
114 unable to make any maps of social distribution upon which I have the slightest reliance. Under these circumstances I shall speak somewhat loosely of districts and villages, meaning by district an area occupied by secondary and tertiary tribal sections such as the Leng and the Nyajekany of the Lou tribe and the Minyaal and Thiur sections of Gaajok, and by villages I shall mean a part of a district which is well demarcated through the proximity of its homesteads and hamlets, each being more or less joined to its neighbours by cultivated grounds, and through the wide gaps which divide it from other similarly occupied parts of the district, gaps filled by forest, bush or swamp. The precision of these terms and the size of the group to which they refer are very variable. My ignorance of Nuer country, over which I was unable to travel more than a few miles, prevents me from presenting a map of such distributions. I speak, to make it clearer to those on the spot, of such places as Muot Dit, Kurmayom (Lou), Pakur (Lek), Panyam (Dok) as villages, but I am by no means certain that among the Western Nuer and in the eastern Jekany countries villages of this kind are so well defined by geographical isolation.

621 Those cattle camps which I have seen vary in size from a cluster of windscreens protecting some 80 persons to a number of clusters protecting some two to three thousand persons. What information I possess on this dry season distribution will be written up under the heading of Nuer kinship and at the present I only wish to notice that there is a greater degree of solidarity, spacial and moral, in the dry season when the inhabitants of a district are living around a single water supply and when dissentions are subdued than in the wet season when they are scattered in their different villages and when the pulse of life beats stronger, largely owing to increased food supplies which follow from harvesting, and quarrels are considered seasonable.

361 By hamlets I mean groups of homesteads which often enough form a separate cluster on a village plain and which are occupied by a man and his brothers and other persons united to them by marriage or other social links. I do not suggest that these hamlets are always very distinct. By homesteads I mean the dwellings of a single man and his wives and children and cattle. These consist of a single cattle byre and kraal and a number of sleeping and cooking huts grouped around it. It is often convenient to speak ~~of a~~ joint homestead to denote several homesteads,

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generally manned by a man and his brothers or married sons, with a common kraal or contiguous kraals. Up till the present I have refrained as far as possible from the use of Nuer words when referring to their political and territorial segments. Especially have I avoided the term *cieng* (*shieng*), which has been the source of much confusion. I will now speak briefly of these native terms and explain their meanings, as far as my knowlege of the Nuer language goes, in relation to the ethnological expressions I have employed in this essay.

The word *cieng* means "home." When you ask a Nuer where is his home, you ask him what is his *cieng*. Hence the word may have a large number of different meanings which vary with the situations in which it is spoken. If you meet an Englishman in Germany and you ask him where is his home, he will reply that his home is in England. If you meet him in London and ask him the same question he will tell you that his home is in Oxfordshire, whereas if you meet him in that county he will tell you the name of the town or village in which he lives. If you ask him where is his home in the town or village where he lives he will mention a particular street or house. So it is with the Nuer. If you meet a Nuer outside Nuerland he will tell you that he comes from *cieng Nath* (Nuerland, the home of the Nuer). If you meet him east of the Nile he may tell you that he comes from *Nath cieng* (the homeland Nuer, or the Nuer who live to the west of the Nile, in contrast to the *Nath doar* (Bush Nuer), or the Nuer to the east of the Nile). These are, however, particular uses of the word *cieng*, which usually refers to much smaller territorial units. I cannot recollect a Nuer speaking of his country (tribal area) as a *cieng*, though I see no reason why he should not do so. Normally he calls his country his *rol*. It is of the tribal sections that he uses the word *cieng*, and if you ask him where is his *cieng* he presumes you want to know the name of his village or district. Hence he tells you the name of the village where he lives, e.g., *cieng* Minyääl (Jekany) or *cieng* Dumien (Lou) or *cieng* Pakur (Lek), the villages of Minyääl or Dumien or Pakur, or he may mention under the same term larger districts such as *cieng* Leng or *cieng* Wangkeac, the districts of Leng and Wangkeac. In different contexts he may speak of even larger areas as *cieng*, e.g., the tertiary tribal section of Gaatbal as *cieng* Gaatbal (Lou). On the other hand he may use *cieng* when speaking of smaller units than the village, such as the hamlet and

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196 homestead. *Ciengda* (my home), in the singular, generally means "my homestead" where I live with my family, whereas *ciengdan* (our home) means usually "our hamlet" or "our village." Thus a man will say "*wa ciengdan*" ("I am going (to our) home") in reference to his village, such as the village of Pakur (Lek), but if he is already in the village of Pakur and says "*wa ciengdan*" ("I am going (to our) home") he means that he is returning to the hamlet where he and his relatives live in a particular section of the village. If he is in the hamlet and says "*wa ciengda*" ("I am going (to my) home") he means that he is going to his hut or cattle byre. I remember making a mistake in this way when I used to say "*wa ciengdan*," meaning that I was off to my tent, for which the Nuer would good-humouredly rebuke me, saying, "Isn't this, our camp, your home?" whereas when I said "*wa ciengda*," in the singular, it passed without the criticism which the Nuer unfailingly bring to bear on any error in grammar or pronunciation. *Cieng* thus means homestead, village, district, tribal sections, homeland and even "home" in an unspecified sense, e.g., it may be said in a story *nyaang ce wa cieng* (the crocodile went home) or *jicieng* (villagers), etc., etc.; for this reason I use the word as little as possible.

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619 There is a further reason for avoiding its use, and though I shall have occasion when speaking of the Nuer clan system to mention it more fully I will refer to it in this place. The *cieng*, in the sense of homestead, is called after the man who lives there, e.g., the homestead occupied by Rainen is called *cieng* Rainen. When Rainen is dead and his sons and nephews live together in a hamlet they will call the hamlet after him and it will be said that they live in *cieng* Rainen. If Rainen was an important enough man and founded a strong enough lineage, the whole village where his descendants and strangers who have intermarried with them live will then become known as *cieng* Rainen. In course of time his descendants will have multiplied and will occupy a district or a large tribal area which will come to be known as *cieng* Rainen. Hence it comes about that many of the tribal sections I have mentioned as examples for the use of *cieng* are called after persons, e.g., Minyääl, Dumien, Wangkeac, Gaatbal. As will be explained more clearly later a lineage thus becomes identified in speech with the territory which it occupies—the district occupied by the major lineage of WANGKEAC, for example, being known as *cieng* Wangkeac. The Nuer then talks

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about the district and the lineage which lives there as interchangeable terms and speaks of *cieng* WANGKEAC in the sense of the WANGKEAC lineage. This leads a European into depths of confusion since the WANGKEAC lineage and the people who live in the village of Wangkeac are by no means the same thing. I shall have occasion to plumb these depths of confusion, into which I have myself been long plunged, in the following sections.

Cieng, in the singular, e.g., ciengda (my homestead), is the same as *gol* in the singular, e.g., *golla* (my homestead), and *cieng* in the plural, e.g., *ciengdan* (our hamlet), which means the same as *gol* in the plural, e.g., *gollan* (our hamlet). The literal meaning of *gol* is the large dung fire which occupies the centre of every cattle byre. During the wet season this is kept continually alight and serves to keep mosquitoes away from the cattle and the young men who sleep on a platform above it, while during the daytime people sit around it and chat. In the dry season the *gol* is a huge heap of ashes enclosed by a windscreen and around it sleep the inmates of the windscreen and there also they spend a large part of the day watching their cattle, drinking milk, sleeping and smoking. This dung fire signifies the home and especially symbolises the household from the point of view of its male occupants since women have their own cooking fires. *Jigoalla* (the people of my *gol*) are the people of my household, especially the menfolk of my household. *Gol* Cam or *gol* Pec is the homestead or windscreen of Cam or Pec and hence means the household of Cam or Pec. *Ran gol* Cam is a member of Cam's household and *jigoal* Pec is the household of Pec, i.e., the people who habitually live in his homestead and make use of his cattle byre.

The only other Nuer word I will draw attention to in this place is *dor*. I think that the most comprehensive meaning of *dor* is what is not actual homestead. The word generally means " bush " in contrast to *cieng* (home), e.g., " *wa dor* " (" I am going into the bush " almost " I am going out ") is the opposite to " *wa cieng* " (" I am going home "). Different parts of the bush can be designated by some conspicuous landmark as the *dor* of such and such a thing. The word is noticed in this place because it is often used to refer to the unoccupied land lying around a homestead or hamlet which is used for sowing maize or on which goats and sheep and calves graze. In this sense *doran* (our dor) has much the same meaning as *ciengdan* (our *cieng*), though the former word seems

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823 196 rather more inclusive. But both are used to refer to " our home," " our hamlet," " our village." Thus Pakur (Lek tribe) village is divided up into a number of hamlets, and one may speak of each hamlet with the unoccupied land around it which divides it off from neighbouring hamlets as a *dor* and designate it by some landmark, e.g., *dor ngop* (the part of the village which lies near the *gameiza* (fig-tree)), *dor wich kwer* (the part of the village which lies around a sandy eminence) and *dor thok ruop* (the part of the village which borders the forest). As we have already noticed, such territorial expressions become identified with the people who occupy the territory, so in this case we may speak of CUOL *ngop* and CUOL *wich kwer*, the section of the CUOL lineage who live near the *Gameiza* tree and the section of the CUOL lineage who live near the sandy eminence.

I mention these three Nuer words, *cieng*, *gol*, and *dor*, because they are so frequently heard on Nuer lips and to explain that my reason for using them so seldom in the text is that they refer to so many different things according to the context in which they are spoken.

III.

621 I have spoken of the clan as forming the iron girders upon which the political structure of the tribe is built up; I have spoken of each tribe having a dominant element within it; I have mentioned that the territorial groups of Nuer country integrate themselves around a kinship nucleus and that their cohesion depends upon this nucleus as much as upon communal life or locality; I have remarked that as the ties of kinship become more and more distantly stretched they weaken and that they weaken also by the dilution of kinship with other elements and that both these processes are reflected in the manner in which tribal groups segment. These assertions need explanation. It is very difficult to analyse Nuer society without repetition because when we speak of the tribe we are also speaking of political aggregates which crystallise around some clans. Yet it is imperative to keep these two groups, the tribe and the clan, distinct if endless confusion is to be avoided. Much of the confusion of Jackson's account is due to the fact that he did not clearly differentiate between them.

619 361 614 Herein lies a great difficulty. The Nuer tribe always has a name derived from the name of the country which it occupies, e.g., one may

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speak of Lou tribesmen as *ji looka* (people of Lou), or of Lek tribesmen as *ji legni* (people of Lek); but generally this name is also the name of the clan, for a country is often called after its first occupants and owners, e.g., Gaawär is the name of the tribal territory of the tribesmen who occupy it, and presumably, for I have not been there, of the clansmen who form the dominant element in the tribal territory. GAAJAK and GAAGWANG are clan lineages who have given their names to the countries where they live. To eliminate this difficulty I have throughout written tribes and tribal sections in small letters and clans and clan lineages in capitals. Hence if I say that a man is a Gaawär I mean that he is a man inhabiting Gaawär country, i.e., a member of the Gaawär tribe, whereas if I say that a man is a GAAWÄR I mean that he is a descendant in the male line from Wär, i.e., a member of the GAAWÄR clan. I will give two more examples to make this point quite clear. If you ask a Lou man what is his *cieng*, you are asking him where he lives, what is his homestead, village or district. Suppose that he replies that his *cieng* is *cieng* Pual, you can ask him what his *cieng* forms part of, and he will tell you that it is part of *cieng* Leng, giving the name of a tertiary tribal section. If you continue to interrogate him he will inform you that *cieng* Leng forms part of *cieng* Gaatbal, a secondary tribal section, and he will explain that *cieng* Gaatbal is a division of the Gun primary tribal section which is a moiety of the Lou tribe. But he has told you nothing about his clan relationship. He may or may not be a member of the PUAL clan lineage which forms a part of the LENG lineage, which forms part of the GAATBAL lineage, which forms part of the clan of JINACA or GAAT GAN NACA, the people of Nac or the children of the children of Nac. In the same way, if a Jekany man tells you that he belongs to *cieng* Kwith of the Gaatjok, it does not follow that he is descended from Kwe (Kwith) who is descended from Kun (whose bullock name was majok), but he merely means that he lives in a tribal section occupied by the KWITH lineage which forms part of the tribe occupied by the GAAJOK who are a principal lineage of the GAAT GAN KIIR, the children of the children of Kir. I shall shortly explain the meaning of these lineages.

Owing to the fact that the Nuer have no word for clan, as we understand the group, and that they have no stereotyped modes of referring to clansmen, we are in some difficulty in writing about them. The

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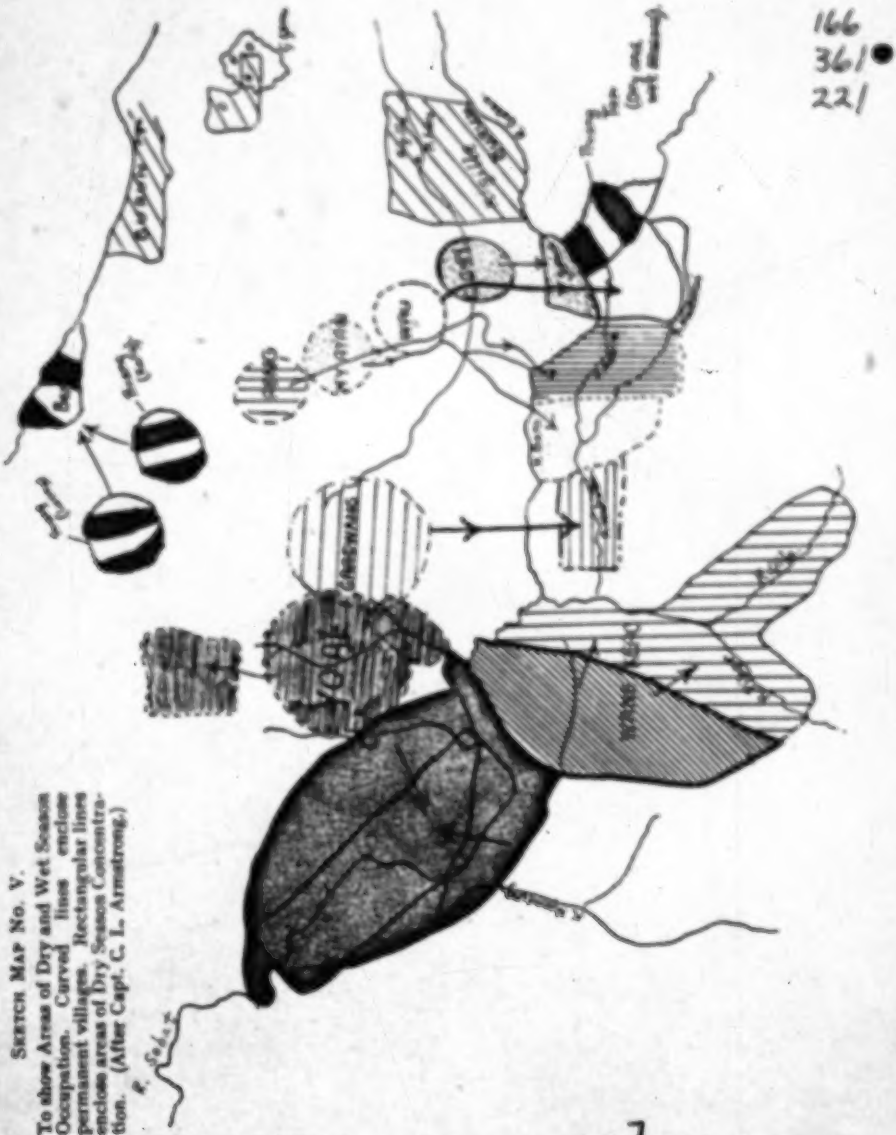

Sketch Map No. V.
To show Areas of Dry and Wet Season Occupation. Curved lines enclose permanent villages. Rectangular lines enclose areas of Dry Season Concentration. (After Capt. C. L. Armstrong.)

[facing p. 30]

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with thin calves, are long, their hands and feet small. 141
The skin is dark. Men with well-shaped features, thin [142]
lips, and noses with high bridges and narrow nostrils are
not unfrequently met.

Most of the men are fierce, proud, and even haughty in 105
aspect. The Nuer are essentially pastoral; some kind of
farming is done, fishing and hunting are also common,
but the only occupation worthy of a man is to look after
his cattle. The attachment of a man to his cows and of a
boy to the bull with which his father presents him may
almost be called religious. The one real sport for men is
fighting, or cattle raiding, which is practically the same
thing. These predatory expeditions are carried on
wherever opportunity offers and are a cause of constant
friction among the tribes. In their folk-lore tales a
favourite subject is the story of cattle fights.

The main groups of the Nuer and the districts in which 162
they live are:[1] 101

Garjok, Garjak, Jekiang (Nasser District) .	200,000
Lau (Abwong District)	100,000
Gaweir (Panjak District)	30,000
Lak and Thiang (Zeraf Island, Panjak District)	40,000
Western Nuer (Yivrol District) . . .	60,000

One group, the Arwot, have partly adopted Dinka as 197
their language.

The Nuer houses lie close to large river systems, so 361
that during the rains a large part of their country is a
great swamp, the villages being mostly situated on
ridges along the rivers. The chief vegetation is high
grass, interspersed with single trees or groups of trees.
The country on the upper Sobat, near or in Abyssinia,
is however better wooded and has sparse forests.

[1] Cf. Report of the Rejaf Language Conference 1928, London 1928.

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342 Their huts are built with great care and skill. They are
•361 cylindrical in form with a conical roof consisting of grass, reeds, or leaves, while the walls are made of mud; and are decidedly superior to the buildings of the Dinka, Anuak, and other kindred tribes. The houses stand in small groups, sometimes only two or three together, the land for cultivation lying immediately around each house.

342 In the dry season the men leave their villages to seek
233 better pasture in the swampy regions of the country. Here temporary huts of straw are erected for the young men who look after the cattle and milk them. During the night the cattle are driven into large enclosures of thorny trees; a fire of dried cow-dung is constantly kept smouldering, to protect the cattle from the stings of mosquitoes. When the rains begin to fall, about April, the people return to their villages to plant dura.

776 Very little is known about the religion of the Nuer. Miss Huffman mentions on page 56 some names of their gods, but we learn little as to their significance in the lives and beliefs of the people. While I was studying the Shilluk people in the Sudan in 1910, still another Nuer god, viz. Kot, was mentioned to me by a number of Nuer men whom I had with me for some time. This word Kot occurs in a large number of Nilotic languages, its general meaning is 'rain', but in Nuer it designates a god, the idea of this god being evidently connected with that of rain. To Kot is attributed the creation of the world, as the following report dictated to me by a native Nuer shows:[1]

[1] This report and the following ones were, together with the original Nuer text, first published in my study on the Nuer language in the *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen. Afrikanische Studien*, p. 84 ff. Berlin, 1912.

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features characteristic of the areas occupied by the majority of the Nilotes - flatness, heavy clay soil, thick, tall grasses, swamp in the wet season and parched, brown stubble in the dry season. It is an area of true savannah. 133

The influence of environment on Nuer economy is profound. Although cattle form the great interest of the Nuer people, and are important socially as well as economically, horticulture is a necessary part of their economy owing to the prevalence of cattle diseases and the difficulties of obtaining adequate pastures in the dry season. Horticulture and cattle herding are, therefore, the two main economic activities, and together they determine the ecological cycle, as well as the distribution of population, village sites, and also the relationships between the various segments into which the Nuer are divided. 233 241

Nuer villages are situated on elevated ground out of reach of the wet season floods. In the early rains the cattle feed on young shoots near the village but, as the vegetation becomes too rank and the waters rise, the herds have to graze off the short grasses of the village ridges. During the wet season millet and other grains, vegetables and tobacco are grown in the gardens situated behind the homesteads. At the end of the rains, in November, the floods begin to recede. When the tall, tough grasses, which are unsuitable for the cattle to eat, are sufficiently dry they are burned. Since some varieties send up shoots a few days later, the cattle have fresh pasture until the height of the dry season when the water supplies fail in many regions. The Nuer then seek the permanent water-courses and dry-season pastures. When the harvests are finished they move from the villages to the dry-season camps; a period of wandering divides the two periods of stable residence. The dry-season camps are situated on the banks of rivers which do not completely dry up or on the edge of permanent swamps. 233 241 361 132

When the rains begin again in April and May, water and pasture become plentiful and a move is made back to the villages above flood level, in order to prepare the ground for cultivation.

The annual cycle is approximately set out below. It has considerable repercussions on social life and, although local conditions may cause some variation, the principles underlying the annual cycle are the same everywhere in Nuerland. 221

November - December. Youths and girls take cattle to camps while the old people remain in the village to harvest the second millet crop. Fishing camps may be formed on the banks of rivers. When the second harvest is finished the cattle are brought back to eat the millet stalks but as the pasturage becomes exhausted all eventually go to occupy new cattle camps. A period of wandering precedes the final settlement in the camp. 221 361 233 241

January - February. The married people join the youths when they settle in the final camping grounds. Camps get larger and larger as pastures become scarcer and more people join existing camps. Different villages and tribal sections tend to move at about the same time and to visit the same pools so that the sites of the main dry-season camps do not change from year to year. 221 361

221 *March - April.* When the rains begin the old people return to the
241 village for sowing.

233 *June.* The rest of the people follow with the cattle. The move from camp to village is direct, whereas in the move from village to camp there is an intervening period of wandering.

The Nuer year is therefore divided into two parts, consisting of a period in the villages and a period in the camp. This annual transhumance is necessary for the very existence of the Nuer. Rinderpest prevents complete dependence on cattle, so that they must have villages on highlands, with gardens, in order to grow the necessary supplies of grain. Climatic conditions prevent complete reliance on cultivation and the need of fresh pastures and water for the cattle forces them into dry-season camps near permanent supplies.

361 Homesteads may be strung out along sandy ridges with gardens at the back and grazing in front and the location and size of the villages depend on the distribution and extent of the higher ground suitable for cultivation. The direction of the dry-season movements are determined by ecological conditions. Transhumance enhances the importance of units larger than the villages which, for economic reasons, cannot easily maintain a self-sufficient isolation as do the Shilluk, Anuak, Acholi and Lango villages where the emphasis is on cultivation.

ECONOMY

The economic importance of cattle to the Nuer

231 Economically, cattle are chiefly important for milk and milk products,
242 such as whey and liquid cheese. We are told that the Nuer value their cows according to the amount of milk they give.

Nuer eat meat boiled and roasted but, although they are particularly fond of it, they do not raise cattle for slaughter. It is considered that people ought not to kill cattle solely for food and, except on sacrificial and special occasions with a ritual aspect, the Nuer refrain from doing so. It is even thought that animals killed specifically for food might curse their owners.

Like other pastoral peoples in East Africa, the Nuer extract blood from the necks of their cattle and use it as a supplementary article of
[252] diet in dry season camps. The blood is boiled and taken with porridge as flavouring or is allowed to congulate into a block which is roasted and then cut in slices.

237 Milk, meat and blood are the food products derived from cattle but the herds also furnish the materials for implements and other necessary articles. Skins are used for sleeping on, for trays, for carrying fuel, making cord for tethering, leather-collars for oxen and in making pipes, spears and shields. Tail hairs are used for ornamentation, bones and horns are used for instruments, scrapers and hooters. Cattle dung is used for plastering walls and floors of huts; dried dung is used for fuel and

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SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

SOCIAL UNITS

592 1. A single living hut occupied by a wife, her children and, at times, her husband if the family is a polygynous one.

2. The homestead *(gol)* consisting of a byre and huts, and containing a simple family group or polygynous family, sometimes with other relatives attached.

621 3. The hamlet *(dhor)* consisting of a cluster of homesteads surrounded by their pastures and cultivations. Each hamlet has its own name and is generally inhabited by close agnatic kinsmen, often brothers and their families.

621 4. The village, a very distinct unit, usually referred to as *ciang* (home). The population may be anything from fifty to several hundred.
361 If the village is built on a ridge, homesteads and hamlets may be strung out for a considerable distance. Villages are usually distinct from each other, there being several miles of bush, swamp and grass between them. Well-marked paths, made by the constant visits exchanged by the inhabitants, join the villages to each other.

621 A village consists of a community linked by common residence and by a network of kinship and affinal ties. The inhabitants co-operate in many activities - social, economic and military - and form dry-season camps together. The village is the political unit of Nuerland and is the smallest group which is not specifically of a kinship order.(1) People of one village have a strong feeling of solidarity vis à vis people of other villages.

621 5. The cattle camp *(wec)*: early cattle camps may be found wherever
361 there are depressions, pools, and patches of fresh pasture. The location of the larger camps is largely predetermined, as only a few places provide adequate pasture and water at the height of the dry season. The size of the camp depends on these resources and, whereas early camps consist only of a few households, later camps vary from 100 to 1,000 souls. Such concentrations comprise larger or smaller tribal sections and each group has its own separate section of the camping ground. Neighbouring villages participate in a cattle camp, and relatives from distant villages may join their kinsmen. There is more co-operation within a camp than within a village, as the cattle are herded together and milked at the same time, whereas in a village each homestead, in the main, herds its own cattle. A large camp is called after the dominant lineage in it or after the main village community occupying it.

634 6. The district, "an aggregate of villages and camps which have easy intercommunication".(2) It corresponds to a small tribal segment, although it may include a whole tribe or more in the case of very small

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, 1940, p.115.
(2) Ibid., p.116.